

University of Denver

Digital Commons @ DU

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Graduate Studies

1-1-2016

Displaced but Not Without Place: Refugee and Immigrant Integration Experiences in Greeley, Colorado

Rebekah Natalie Marsh
University of Denver

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.du.edu/etd>



Part of the [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Marsh, Rebekah Natalie, "Displaced but Not Without Place: Refugee and Immigrant Integration Experiences in Greeley, Colorado" (2016). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. 1142.
<https://digitalcommons.du.edu/etd/1142>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate Studies at Digital Commons @ DU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ DU. For more information, please contact jennifer.cox@du.edu, dig-commons@du.edu.

Displaced but not without Place: Refugee and
Immigrant Integration Experiences in Greeley, Colorado

A Thesis

Presented to
the Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Denver

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Masters of Arts

by

Rebekah N. Marsh

June 2016

Advisor: Dr. Alejandro Ceron

© Copyright by Rebekah N. Marsh 2016
All Rights Reserved

Author: Rebekah N. Marsh

Title: Displaced but not without Place: Refugee and Immigrant Integration Experiences in Greeley, Colorado

Advisor: Dr. Alejandro Ceron

Degree Date: June 2016

Abstract

This thesis research focuses on the integration experiences of refugees and immigrants in Greeley, Colorado and the corresponding actions and reactions of local Greeley members and leaders who are involved with this population. This thesis explains how the political, industrial and economic needs of the historical sugar beet and current meat packing industries shaped and are shaping the segregated landscape of Greeley. This in turn shapes the integration experiences for the refugees and immigrants and local members of Greeley. These industries historically recruited undocumented Mexican laborers to fill high turnover manual labor jobs. Now, the JBS meat packing plant is recruiting documented refugees and immigrants to fill these job positions left vacant due to an immigration raid at the plant in 2007. Being a secondary resettlement site, Greeley has no government sponsored integration programs leaving a social-service vacuum that is being met by the Global Refugee Center. The refugee and immigrant enclave is economically positioned between the two segregated halves of Greeley in which small businesses, cultural practices, and inter-ethnic networks form and flourish. The refugees and immigrants represented in this research are integrating through employment, housing, social bonds and social bridges though in complicated and incomplete ways.

Acknowledgements

This project would not have been possible without the generosity and helpful guidance of my key informants who allowed me into their lives, gave me their time, and provided me with insight that broadened my mind. Thank you to Dr. Alejandro Ceron and Dr. Bonnie Clark for providing me with guidance, methods, and theoretical knowledge I needed to complete this research. Thank you to Dr. Michael Kimball, Dr. Sally McBeth, Dr. Whitney Duncan, Dr. Britney Kyle, and Dr. Andy Creekmore for opening up the wondrous science of Anthropology to me and for changing the way I see the world. Thank you to my family, friends, and to Greg for supporting me through all the trials and uncertainties and for always believing I would finish this endeavor.

In memory of my dear, artistically talented and bold sister, Stephanie Lauren Marsh.

I wish I could have known you longer.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: Literature Review.....	5
1.1 Background: Brief history of Greeley, immigrants, segregation and industry	5
1.1.1 Greeley’s Segregated Urban Landscape	8
1.1.2 The Meatpacking Industry and Changing Labor Demographics	18
1.2 Bourdieu’s <i>Habitus, Praxis</i> , and Symbolic and Structural Violence and Agency	21
1.2.1 <i>Habitus, Praxis</i> , and Symbolic and Structural Violence	21
1.2.2 Agency	27
1.3 Social Transformation and Components of Integration.....	28
1.3.1 Integration	32
1.3.2 Employment.....	35
1.3.3 Housing, Sense of Home, and Place	38
1.3.4 Social Bonds and Social Bridges	40
1.3.4 a Social Bonds.....	43
1.3.4 b Social Bridges	46
1.4 Research Question	48
Chapter 2: Methods.....	52
2.1 Research Objective	52
2.2 Research Design.....	52
2.3 Variables and Dimensions	53
2.4 Population and Sample	54
2.5 Data Collection and Data Analysis	55
2.5.1 Participant Observation.....	55
2.5.2 Semi-Structured Interviews	56
2.5.3 Key Informant Mapping and Cross-Section Drive	57
2.6 Research Ethics.....	57
Chapter 3: Findings: Employment.....	58
3.1 Working for JBS	58
3.2 Work-related Injuries, Quitting JBS, and Structural Violence	64
3.3 Under employment.....	68
3.4 Refugee and Immigrant Owned Businesses	75
Chapter 4: Findings: Housing, Home, Safety and Language.....	83
4.1 Home, Safety and Language, Original Cultural Practices	84

4.2 Home and family.....	89
4.3 Safety and feeling safe in Greeley	92
4.4 Original Cultural Practices and Sense of Home	98
4.5 Language and learning English.....	103
4.6 Adequate Housing, Leaving or Staying?	107
Chapter 5: Findings: Social Bonds	113
5.1 Intra-Ethnic, Cultural and/or Linguistic Friends.....	114
5.2 Intra-Ethnic Networks Support Systems.....	120
5.3 Intra-Ethnic Communities, Original Cultural Practices and Religion	121
Chapter 6: Findings: Social Bridges	126
6.1 Inter-Ethnic Social Bridges among the Refugees and Immigrants.....	128
6.2 Consequences of lacking Social Bridges with Individuals from Greeley.....	134
6.3 Efforts to educate Greeley’s community members.....	145
6.4 Building Social Bridges – Courtney and Andy Steiz.....	149
6.5 Building Social Bridges Through Heritage and History – The Roots Project.....	154
Chapter 7: Findings: Place and Greeley’s Urban Landscape.....	165
7.1 Cognitive Map Results.....	165
7.2 Imprinting the Urban Landscape	173
7.3 Finding a new home for the GRC, Contracting the Refugee and Immigrant Enclave.....	178
Chapter 8: Conclusion.....	186
8.1 Employment and JBS.....	186
8.2 Housing, Home, Safety and Language – Refugee and Immigrant Homes.....	191
8.3 Social Bonds – Refugee and Immigrant Enclave	192
8.4 Social Bridges – The GRC, Steiz’s neighborhood, and The Roots Project at the CVM.....	193
8.5 Urban landscape of Greeley – Greeley’s <i>Habitus</i> constructing the Landscape, Zoe’s Coffee Shop and the GRC’s New Location.....	199
8.6 Conclusion	203
References.....	206

List of Maps

Map 1: Approximate segregated area for Historic Hispanic sugar beet laborers	14
Map 2: Percentage of Hispanic Alone per Census Block 2000-2011.....	16
Map 3: Percentage of White Alone per Census Block. 2000-2011	17
Map 4: Compilation of all Refugee and Immigrant Cognitive Maps (October 26, 2015) Including Refugee owned/targeted Businesses	167
Map 5: Median Household Income per Census Block. 2000-2011	170
Map 6: Area outline of where refugees and immigrants live as draw by Courtney Steiz.....	172
Map 7: Route of Cross Sectional Drive	178

Introduction

In this research I focus on the integration experiences of refugees and immigrants in Greeley, Colorado and the corresponding actions and reactions of local Greeley leaders who are involved with this population. The literature on refugees and integration is extensive and only key pieces will be discussed here that deal specifically with integration issues that developed from my research, data analysis and findings.

A refugee is any person who is:

“...owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fears, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.”

- 1951 Refugee Convention, United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR) (“Refugees: Flowing Across Borders.” 2016; Lewellen 2002).

Throughout this paper, the term ‘refugee’ refers to this definition. The individual in discussion is or was recognized as such by the UNHCR and identifies his or herself as a refugee. An immigrant, specifically an economic immigrant, is any person who leaves their home country in pursuit of a better life, job, or to improve future prospects for his or herself and his/ her family (“Refugees: Flowing Across Borders.” 2016; Lewellen 2002). While employment is one reason why people decide to migrate, many other reasons come into play as well, such as living conditions of different sites, social networks, and other such factors (Lewellen 2002:124; Wilson 1994).

Migrants, which comprised some of my informants, are treated very differently than refugees by the UNHCR and are not offered the same legal status as refugees. Immigration and immigrants are important aspects of Greeley's history in terms of industry, development, segregation and creating the landscape. They and their integration experiences are an essential part of understanding integration in current day Greeley. The changes in migration patterns, as is clearly evident throughout Greeley's history are often the result of structural forces such as politics, government, war, and economics (Lewellen 2002). The immigrants included in this study include people who identified themselves as current or previous immigrants. Issues of my immigrant key informants' legal statuses are not considered for this paper, unless they are naturalized U.S.A. citizens.

Any person or group identified as 'local Greeley people/person/community' is a referring to individuals or groups who live or comprise of the community of people who inhabit Greeley and are not recently arrived immigrants or refugees. These people either self-identify their inclusion as a local member of Greeley's community or are considered to belong to this community as observed by an outsider or through knowledge by an insider.

This thesis project explores how refugees and immigrants recently moved to Greeley experience integration and how place-making, as a process, shows evidence of integration and change for this population and the host community. My purpose is to understand how they have experienced certain aspects of integration in Greeley. To understand how the people carved out a place for themselves in the urban landscape I used a non-essentialist perspective of refugees and immigrants as still possessing, although somewhat changed, their identities, cultures, and power of agency (Brun 2001;

Lamba and Krahn 2003). I will attempt to better understand these ‘newcomers’ in a place I once called home. How they have made Greeley their new home and how they feel they belong are major questions I pursued. This project will provide a platform for their experiences and voices to be heard (Appadurai 1988).

Refugees and migrants experience instability, fear, violence, and economic disparity as they struggle to leave their country and find refuge and opportunities in another. People that become refugees or immigrants are displaced from their place but are not deprived of their cultures or identities (Lewellen 2002; Brun 2001). Furthermore, people who become refugees and migrants do not stay as refugees or migrants the rest of their lives nor remain in a constant state of being out of place (Brun 2001; Sampson and Gifford 2010).

Sense of place is not a static phenomenon and varies given self-making and place-attachment (Dam and Eyles 2012 Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996). Foreign resettlement sites may become familiar and eventually be identified as “home” (Dam and Eyles 2012). People who are refugees flee their countries with their identities, cultures, and power of agency in hand and use these to (re)build their homes and lives in foreign host resettlement countries. Too often, refugees are often seen through an essentialist lens placing them in a static place, culture and identity that is only maintained through residence in their country of origins and that is removed from them upon displacement (Brun 2001; Sampson and Gifford 2010). It is important not to underestimate the power and importance of place to people and the real loss of social, economic and political standing when refugees are forcibly and involuntarily displaced (Brun 2001; Sampson and Gifford 2010; Dam and Eyles 2012).

This thesis will discuss how the refugees and immigrants living in Greeley, Colorado, are integrating via employment, housing, social bonds and social bridges. They are making a place for themselves in the historically segregated landscape of Greeley which in turn effects their integration experiences. Greeley's historical and current *habitus*, landscape, and history are explored here to provide a context (Schein 2003) to the refugees and immigrants integration experiences.

Chapter One

Literature Review

1. Background: Brief history of Greeley, immigrants, segregation and industry

1.1 Production of Space and Place

"Space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations but it is also producing and produced by social relations."

(Lefebvre 1991: 286, cited in Hayden 1995: 31).

I am borrowing Setha Low's (2000) concept and usage of the social production of space and social construction of space from her book *On the Plaza*. Utilizing the components of both concepts I will have a better understanding of how the production of place affects the experiences and daily lives of the refugees and immigrants (Low 2000:127). However, the last point, of the social agency, is explored in terms of its impact on transforming the urban landscape through material and non-material symbols (Hayden 1995a; Berry and Henderson 2002). In this section I will examine the ideological, political, and economic forces that produced the current urban landscape of Greeley. I will then examine the current economic political requirements for a different labor force to support specific industries, and the economy, of Greeley.

Relph (1976) claims that a practical knowledge of place is essential to existence of all humans. Place is complex. It is situated, produced, and constructed by politics, economics, technologies, ideologies and social relations (Low 2000). Furthermore, place

is spatialized Relph writes, "to be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have and to know *your* place" (1976:1). Furthermore, Low (2000) describes the social production of space as including "social economic, ideological, and technological" impacts resulting in the physical creation of the material setting (Low 2000:127-128). By examining the materiality of the urban landscape, along with historical data, I can better understand the generative historical, political, and social economic forces that resulted in the foundation of Greeley's urban landscape (Low 2000:127 - 128). The social construction of space, on the other hand, explores the social processes and activities that transform a specific place or the urban landscape. Low (2000:127-128) states these social processes include exchange, conflict and control.

While I will be examining the current social processes to better understand the transformation of Greeley's urban landscape, I will also be examining the historical social processes that first created this landscape. Low discusses that the social construction of space focuses more on the phenomenological, symbolic and social experiences of the space (Low 2000:128). Though I am interested in this, it will only be briefly discussed in this section but some of this data will be explored in a results chapter of this thesis. I will, however, focus on the historic and current symbolic social processes and daily activities that have constructed Greeley's urban landscape and are producing the social relations between the refugees, immigrants and the rest of Greeley (Jackson 1997). Rather, I intend to spatialize the social relations and social practices in space by locating them physically, historically, and conceptually (Low 2000:127).

The social production and construction of space are both social processes contesting for economic and ideological reasons. As Low writes, "...understanding them

can help us see how local conflicts over space can be used to uncover and illuminate larger cultural issues" (2000:128). Furthermore, she discusses that conflicts over public space, in her particular case meaning Central American Plazas, reflects conflicts and differences of cultural meanings and values of appropriate social behavior and order. I am using this concept to discuss conflicts over the historical urban landscape in how people from different groups were organized spatially according to economic and racial categories and how these historical conflicts still manifest themselves in the current urban landscape in which the refugees in Greeley now live.

Henry Lefebvre's theory of "production of space" is a helpful framework because he explains how the urban landscape is produced to meet the requirements for social and economic production (Hayden 1995a:18-20). Landscape is the material revelation of human practice and thought (Henderson 2003:189; Hayden 1995a:18) and this theory can give important insight, leading to hidden ideas and beliefs of the society and culture (Henderson 2003:189). Even the way the landscape is divided up with boundaries reveals these hidden beliefs, ideologies and statuses associated with who is included and who is excluded (Jackson 1997:309).

The production of space and its boundaries are essential to and a manifestation of political economic inner ideologies and practices (Hayden 1995a:18-20; Jackson 1997). Society cannot be understood without knowing its spaces. Furthermore, the spaces cannot be known without knowing the social relations (Henderson 2003:189) and the political economies of society (Hayden 1995a:41). Marxism is the founding perspective and framework to understand how the social structure and relations cause the production of landscape. Social relations, social problems, and social justice/injustice all happen prior

to the production of place and hence are key in grasping the built urban landscape (Henderson 2003:191). Conversely, these social relations, problems, and justice/injustices are reinforced through the spatialization of the landscape (Henderson 2003:192).

The working landscape is central to explaining how the requirement of economic production impacts social production. Combining this with the exploration of the territorial histories of specific groups of the population brings a more complete picture of the urban landscape and social production of space. The production of space, working landscapes, and territorial histories provide a helpful framework for me understand the history of Greeley's urban landscape within the context of global migration of people and capital (Hayden 1995a:18-20). Furthermore, it is important to recognize that cities are funded and supported by different economies that have a great impact and presence over the urban landscape (Hayden 1995b). Lastly, landscapes adapt in response to changing political, economic and ideological needs of its inhabitants (Jackson 1997) which is occurring in current day Greeley.

1.1.1 Greeley's Segregated Urban Landscape

Gregory Chase, a former Master's student from University of Denver, studied the influence of the sugar beet industry on Hispanic migration to Northeastern Colorado in the early nineteenth century (2011). He studied the movement of migrant labor and how the housing made available to them over time affected these migration patterns. His thesis has been of vital importance into my understanding of the historical, social, political, and economical forces that shaped Greeley's urban landscape. Hence, I draw heavily on his research for this section and other similar works by various authors discussing

Northeastern Colorado and the historical impacts of Hispanic labor on the agricultural industry and this region's landscape.

The Great Western Sugar Company (GWSC) owned all sugar beet factories used in the heavy processing of sugar beets to table sugar in Northeastern Colorado (Twitty 2003). This company played an important role in the economic and demographic shaping of Greeley's urban landscape (Shwayder 1987). The sugar beet industry, as well as the agriculture sector, relied heavily on cheap, often imported or recruited, laborers (Valdes 1989). At the turn of the eighteenth century, Weld County began growing sugar beets, and, initially, recruited and imported German Russians who were beginning to leave Russia due to political hardships (Chase 2011:45-47; Cook 1978; Thomas 2003). These German Russians, though originally segregated to poorer parts of the city, did eventually move up in society and into the wealthier parts of Greeley by purchasing their own land. The population of German Russians was well established by 1909 but the sugar beet industry outgrew the immigration of German Russians. The GWSC had to look elsewhere for more laborers (Chase 2011:47).

Accordingly, the GWSC began recruiting poor Mexican Americans from the southwestern states and undocumented Mexican nationals to work the sugar beet fields (Peck 2000; Thomas 2003; Chase 2011). The longstanding relationship between the United States and Mexico was paramount in developing the labor networks that would support much of Greeley's labor industries for the next 100 years (Peck 2000). This relationship also resulted in dramatic inequality between the Mexican Americans and undocumented Mexicans compared to the white Americans of Greeley. It also laid the

conditions necessary for financial success of industrial agriculture, such as the sugar beet industry (Chase 2011; Twitty 2003).

Minority populations, such as the Mexican Americans and undocumented Mexican nationals, played an important role in the development of Greeley, which is commonly overlooked in older research (Arreola 1995). Early research has shown that mostly European, white immigrants are able to move out of the poorer parts of cities and improve their socio-economic status, such as the German Russians did in Greeley (Thomas 2003b). However, this is not true for non-white, non-European immigrants (Thomas 2003a; Lopez, Lopez and Ford 2007). Current migration/immigration studies are beginning to focus on the causes within political/economic context while considering racial/ethnic dimensions and the manifestation of such forces in the landscape (Skop and Li 2003; Hall and Lee 2010; Chase 2011). The relationship between the sugar beet industry and Mexican migration in Northeastern Colorado has been acknowledged (Hamilton 2009). However, little data exists concerning how sugar beet agriculture labor became part of the political economic industrial and social system of this region (Chase 2011:16).

The spatial distribution and settlement patterns of minorities within cities is complex and dynamic being effected by government and employer ideologies and policies, state and city initiatives, recruitment agencies, economics, laborer social networks and race-ethnic hierarchies (Massey and Denton 1985; Hall and Lee 2010; Li 2009; Skop and Li 2003; Skop 2009). The landscape alone does not cause injustices to occur but reproduces and represents various political, economic, ideological, and social practices of history and current day (Chase 2011; Henderson 2003).

Certain groups maintained greater influence and power over others in the spatial layout of labor settlements. The Great Western Sugar Company (GWSC) had the most influence in the creation of Greeley's urban landscape because it was a major centralizing point and authority through which political, economic, ideological, and social relations and hierarchies crossed and were actualized (Lopez, Lopez and Ford 2007; Massey et al. 1993). Very little choice was granted to the Mexican American and Mexican national migrants of where they could live in Northeastern Colorado (Chase 2011:15; Hall and Lee 2010; Thomas 2003a; Skop and Li 2003). Initially the Mexican labor force lived in the poverty of sugar beet labor camps located on the farms (Chase 2011:58; Kulkosky 1998). However, in order to maintain a reliable and trained work force the GWSC decided to instigate a program for permanent housing for the laborers (Chase 2011:44; Shwayder 1987). The GWSC created Mexican communities, commonly referred to as the Espanola Subdivision by its inhabitants or as the Spanish or Mexican Colony by other Greeley Residents. Other similar Mexican communities were founded throughout Northeastern Colorado including in Fort Morgan, Fort Collins and Kersey. Inequality and racial housing segregation was present in the ideologies and policies of the GWSC and actualized these in the placement of housing for the Hispanic laborers (Chase 2011; Lopez, Lopez and Ford 2007; Thomas 2003a).

Michel Foucault's historical approach of the spatialization of social control through the use of architectural technologies (Low 2000:129) is very helpful in understanding how the placement and boundaries of the Espanola Subdivision in Greeley, were used to create a "docile body" normalizing the segregation (Low 2000:129) of the Hispanics from the rest of Greeley. Boundaries are political devices through which social

control and discipline are administered. Segregating people along racial, national, class and gender is essential to the function of global capitalist system (Jackson 1997; Low 2000:155). The construction of boundaries has significant effects on the production of social space as seen in the micro-geographies of everyday life (Low 2000:155; Jackson 1997).

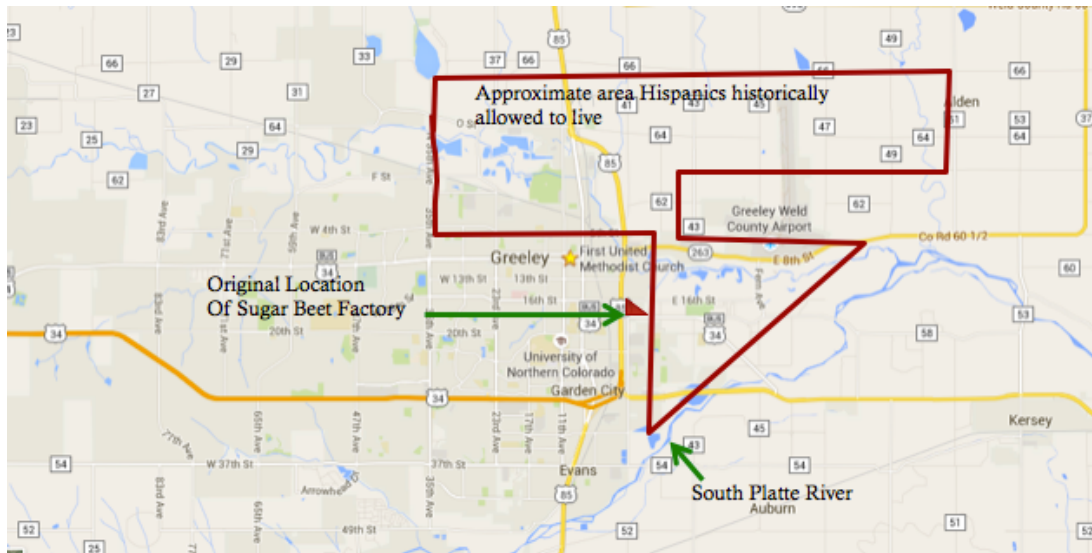
The inclusive and exclusive nature of boundaries created by the racial profiling and segregation had devastating effects (Low 2000:155) on the Hispanic laborers in terms of access to resources and social mobility (Chase 2011:72; Skop 2006). Limiting access to space and creating territorial ethnic enclaves is a consistent way for cities to limit the economic and political rights and opportunities of certain groups. Limiting access to space is best done through creating boundaries (Hayden 1995a:22; Skop 2006), either seen or unseen but always felt (Low 2000:154). The use of Indian reservations, internment camps, ghettos or migrant worker camps are all political territories enforced through laws, policies, and ideologies of the dominant group (Hayden 1995a:22)

The relationship between power and space and between the use of architecture and the human body, in this case the Hispanic laborer population, (Low 2000:129) is clearly played out in the social production of the “Mexican” communities in Northeastern Colorado. Furthermore, the “Mexican” community did eventually develop into an ethnic enclave that still exists today.

Greeley’s Espanola Subdivision was controlled, owned, and operated by the GWSC, starting in the fall of 1924 (Lopez, Lopez and Ford 2007). For a Mexican family to get the loan for a house located in the Espanola Subdivision, they had to have at least three years of sugar beet field experience, and meet the hard worker protocols and

policies of the GWSC (Chase 2011:71; La Tribuna 2006). The GWSC provided the building materials for the homes but the Mexican sugar beet laborers were required to build the homes themselves, which they then could lease for five years. After the five-year period, residents could buy the lots their homes occupied from the GWSC. The lease agreement favored the GWSC and required the residents to accept some control from the company. The GWSC and the sugar beet farmers often delayed the payment of wages greatly hindering any financial independence or power. House lease terms could, in fact, require laborers to work for a particular farmer which greatly impeded any worker complaints about bad working conditions (Chase 2011:84).

The Espanola Subdivision was removed from Greeley, segregated to the east side of town, and somewhat removed from the sugar factory (Shwayder 1987; Chase 2011:71; See **Map 1** below). Where the Mexicans settled in Northeastern Colorado was due to a combination of factors heavily determined by the GWSC assistance and encouragement of ethnic localities by creating settlement opportunities that were dictated by racist policies and that limited economic resources (Chase 2011:77).



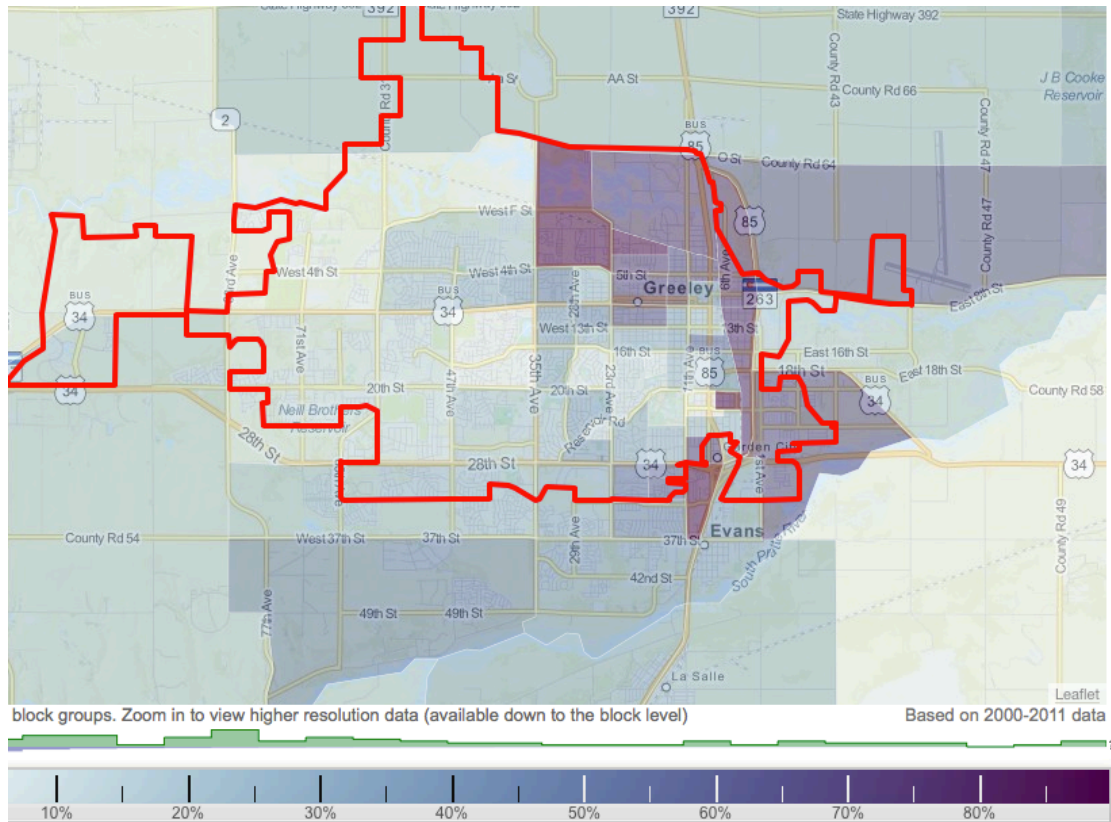
Map 1: Approximate segregated area for Historic Mexican sugar beet laborers (Chase 2011. “Map of Greeley.” My approximation due to Chase’s explanation and current census data)

The housing provided by the GWSC had a racist foundation and served to benefit the company in terms of cost savings and labor efficiency. The Espanola Subdivision community was isolated from greater extent of town and it lacked basic amenities available to the general community. Tensions existed between Anglo and Mexicans that reinforced the boundary between Greeley and the Espanola Subdivision. The GWSC exacerbated these racial tensions in their handling of the Espanola Subdivision, delaying payment of wages, and publishing racist discourse in its annual newsletter. The landscape of Mexican and Mexican American poverty was an integral part of the sugar beet landscape as as a major driver of financial success for so many farmers and GWSC (Chase 2011:89).

The Espanola Subdivision became an ethnic enclave for the Mexican community of Greeley. Due to Greeley’s governmental neglect, the community drafted its own

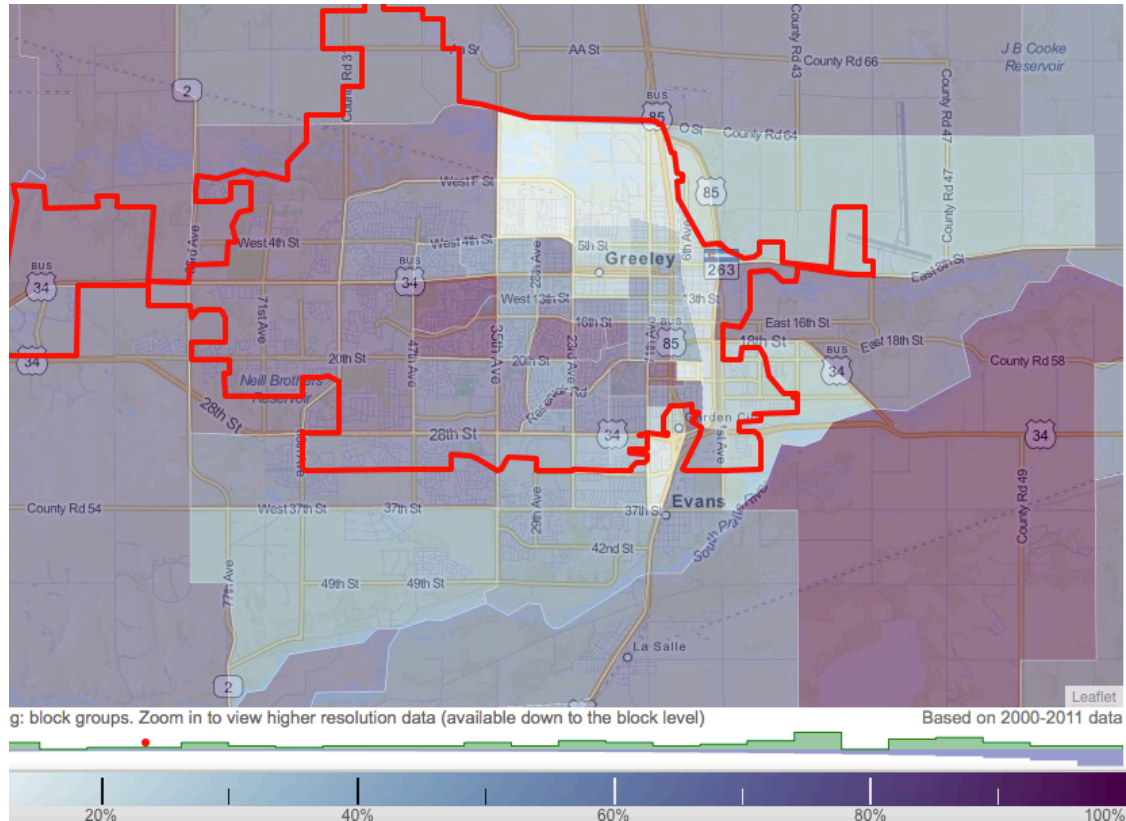
constitution, elected its own government officials, unrecognized by Greeley, and held several annual meetings over conditions in the community (Chase 2011:71-72; Lopez, Lopez and Ford 2007). The spatiality of their location affected the resources and governance available to this population and negatively affected the overall welfare of this community (Chase 2011:89; Skop 2006). Residents created a sense of solidarity among themselves because they had to organize to increase standards of living within their community. The overall poor treatment of Mexicans stemmed from racist ideologies that perceived the Mexican laborers as a "necessary nuisance." The Mexican Welfare Committee advocated for them, to little to no avail, and recognized them as the vital factor to the economic success of the agricultural and manufacturing industries in Colorado (Chase 2011:72-73).

Hence, the spatial segregation of the Mexican laborers from the rest of Greeley reflects Foucault's theory of the use of architectural technologies to create a "docile body" by which the dominant ideologies and powers creates and maintains social control. Furthermore, these boundaries disenfranchised the Mexican laborer population by limiting access to resources, money, and governance. This Mexican ethnic enclave still exists in Greeley today as represented by the 2000-2011 Census Data of Greeley. The darker colors in Map 2 (see below) represent higher concentrations of people of Hispanic origin. When compared to a Map 3 (see below) which represents White Alone high concentration with darker colors, it is very apparent that Greeley is still heavily segregated.



Map 2: Percentage of Hispanic Alone per Census Block 2000-2011

(“Greeley, Colorado”) Note: The darker the color the higher the percentage of Hispanic Alone concentration



Map 3: Percentage of White Alone per Census Block. 2000-2011 (“Greeley, Colorado”)

Note: The darker the color the higher the percentage of White Alone concentration

Shifts in economic developments lead to changes in the work force and the landscape (Hayden 1995b:104). Such economic development shifts occurred in Greeley as seen in the changed work force from German Russians to Mexican sugar beet laborer populations and the subsequent removal of the sugar beet factory from Greeley’s landscape in November 2008 (“History” *Greeley, Colorado*). Other economic developments of Greeley occurred as well such as the incorporation of Monfort Colorado

Inc. in the 1930's (Cornelius 2001) and the subsequent building of the Monfort meat packing plant in north Greeley starting in the 1960's. (Cornelius 2001; "History" *Greeley, Colorado*).

1.1.2 The Meatpacking Industry and Changing Labor Demographics

Greeley had long attracted Mexican and Hispanic immigrants to work in the sugar beet fields and factory and then later to work for the Monfort meat packing plant which is now operated by JBS as of 2007 (Benson 1999; Murray 2003; Cornelius 2001; "History" *Greeley, Colorado*).

The meat packing industry had undergone drastic industrial structural changes, geographical moves, and changing labor requirements throughout the later part of the twentieth century (Huffman and Miranowski 1996; Champlin and Hake 2006; Hanks 2012). Due to changes in meat processing technology, high wage high skilled meat processing laborers were no longer required. Structural changes to the industry as a whole, along with increasing competition from international trade, required meatpacking plants to change labor operations and therefore labor demographics. Many meatpacking companies moved their plants from the eastern parts of the country to the Midwest and to rural communities (Champlin and Hake 2006; Hanks 2012; Huffman and Miranowski 1996). Meatpacking today is grueling, tiresome and very dangerous work with an average turn over rate of nearly 80 to 100% every year (Culp et al. 2008). This high turn over rate requires access to a very large labor pools, which most dwindling rural communities cannot offer (Champlin and Hake 2006; Hanks 2012; Huffman and Miranowski 1996; Culp et al. 2008). Changing immigration policies tolerated and encouraged employers to

hire cheap immigrants while painting immigrants in a negative light (Champlin and Hake 2006).

The demand for high number of low skilled low wage workers required the meat packing industry to actively recruit its laborers. During the earlier parts of the twentieth century, meatpacking companies recruited a diverse group of immigrants, primarily Eastern European immigrants (Champlin and Hake 2006). However, with the new geographic locations and lack of labor supply, meatpacking plants began recruiting Hispanic immigrants from Texas and California (Hanks 2012; Champlin and Hake 2006). While the meatpacking plants attracted Hispanics from various parts of the country, the meat packing plants *demand* for labor was a much more substantial driver for Hispanics to come to work at the plants. Meatpacking plants often encouraged their Hispanic laborers to recruit family and friends from Mexico (Champlin and Hake 2006:54). Hispanic individuals were actively recruited by Monfort Colorado Inc. meatpacking in order to fulfill the high turn over labor requirements of the plant.

Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raided the Greeley meatpacking plant, then owned by Swift, in December of 2006 for undocumented migrants and immigrants, most of whom were Hispanic. Similar ICE raids occurred at six other Swift plants in six other states on the same day under Operation Wagon Trail. ICE used these types of raids to crack down on undocumented immigrants and immigration. At this time immigration policy shifted from border control enforcement to making employing undocumented immigrants an unattractive business prospect for employers (Hanks 2012). The raid disrupted families, friends and whole communities and left bitter memories for

many in Greeley (Lofholm 2013). Soon after the ICE raid, JBS soon bought the plant from Swift in 2007, and added 1300 new jobs to the plant (Murray 2013).

Colorado has settled refugees for over 30 years, nearly 46 thousand as of 2011, and due to the labor recruitment efforts of JBS, approximately two thousand now live in Greeley (Heffel 2013). The ICE raid of the plant in late 2006 required the business to hire documented workers. However, JBS's efforts to recruit American born laborers fell short. JBS then began working closely with Citizenship and Immigration Services to help improve the hiring process of a documented immigrant workforce (Murray 2013) and they began recruiting and hiring Somalis and Burmese refugees. They advertised bonuses and increased wages to entice people to work for the plant and many refugees came to Greeley in response to JBS's recruiting attempts. Of the three thousand workers at the plant about 15% are refugees (Murray 2013).

JBS is the dominant employer of the refugees living in Greeley and also employs immigrants (Murray 2013; Heffel 2013). JBS attracts refugees and immigrants due to its low-skill job requirements, relatively high hourly wages, good health insurance benefits, and overall flexibility in accommodating various cultural needs of this group (Murray 2013; Finley 2009; Whaley 2010). JBS learned how to accommodate cultural and religious needs of its new employees after a conflict over work schedules conflicting with the religious schedule of Ramadan occurred in 2008 between the Somalian employees and JBS. A brief account of the matter was that Muslims needed the assembly line hours and patterns to change to accommodate their changing schedules during the time of Ramadan, a holy fasting time for Muslims around the world (Rab 2008; Murray 2013). JBS and the leaders of the Muslim community did agree, after a Muslim walk out of the

plant, to change the break hour schedule to accommodate the Ramadan praying and fasting schedule (Rab 2008). JBS also provides decent enough wages that, encouragingly, some refugees who worked for JBS after 2007 were able save money to start their own businesses (Murray 2013) that are an integral force changing the urban landscape of Greeley.

This historical racially segregated landscape of Greeley is important to better understand the sociospatial context of the refugee population within Greeley. The reason I delved heavily into this segregated history of Greeley is because it describes the foundations of the current segregated landscape and social relations that exist in Greeley today. After the ICE raid in 2006, Greeley's meat packing plant moved from hiring undocumented Hispanic workers to hiring refugee workers. Hence this economic shift changed the working landscape by changing the demographics of the laboring population (Hayden 1995a). A macro-level approach to the spatialization of Greeley's new refugee population situated in the historical Hispanic labor context makes the economic and racial segregation become apparent. These labor force changes within Greeley's economy reformulates social relations and space (Low 2000:128-129) that are evident in the integration experiences of the refugees and immigrants and where they have made their mark on the landscape, live, and congregate.

1.2 Bourdieu's *Habitus*, *Praxis*, and Symbolic and Structural Violence and Agency

1.2.1 *Habitus*, *Praxis*, and Symbolic and Structural Violence

Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of *habitus*, *praxis*, *fields*, and structural violence are constructive frameworks with which to orientate, understand, and analyze integration, refugees, immigrants, Greeley and its historically segregated urban

landscape. *Habitus* is the theoretical ‘in between’ of objectivism and subjectivism theories. Objectivism, according to Bourdieu, is the actions of individuals and groups as the result of external relations and forces (Bourdieu 1990; McGee 2012). Objectivism is the impact of structural forces and external relationships on individuals, groups and society with and within each other that dictate the actions, attitudes, and beliefs of the individuals and groups that reside within that given context. It is similar to Gramsci’s theory of hegemony and Michel Foucault’s theory of discourses of power (Erickson and Murphy 2008; McGee 2012) in that individuals and relationships between individuals at all levels of society are shaped by outside hegemonic forces.

In contrast, subjectivism is more that actions of individuals are the result of their own interpretations and understandings of the world around them (Bourdieu 1990; McGee 2012). Subjectivity is more similar to agency in that the point of action, belief, values, and understandings originate more at the individual level than the societal level (McGee 2012).

According to Bourdieu, *habitus* fills the theoretical gap between these two perspectives in that while society and larger forces dictate and influence individual and group actions, so too do individual and group actions determine how they see and understand the world and change and (re)produce it in return (Erickson and Murphy 2008). *Habitus* is ‘encoded’, or embodied, in the mental structural framework of individuals (McGee 2012). Individual’s *habitus* interacts with the outside physical and social world and thereby is changed and structured by the world in ways of perceptions, expectations, and understandings (McGee 2012). *Habitus* describes how social practices

and collective strategies reproduce and normalize existing structures of society that are then embodied by members of that society (Low 2000).

Bourdieu's concept of praxis is helpful for understanding how individuals impact and create the world around them through their actions manifesting beliefs, perceptions, and understandings. Praxis is the creation and/or assembly of cultures by human agents and groups in social situations, interactions and arrangements (Erickson and Murphy 2008). People create sets of 'taxonomies' comprised of symbolic representations that reflect the way people view and understand the world, but more importantly, actually serve to *create* and normalize the world around them. The very actions of individuals serve to either create, and (re)produce existing taxonomic structures or act to change and modify them.

Fields are physical, cultural and social spaces, and structures that are formed by varying positions, dispositions, and contestations. Fields are 'microcosms' that have their own distinct rules, regularities and forms of authority (Erickson and Murphy 2008; McGee 2012) often manifesting and normalizing themselves by becoming society's *doxa*, or 'natural order' of things and people (Erickson and Murphy 2008). In other words, when one society or group within society imposes its 'taxonomic' structures onto another society or group, normalizing them, they become a part of societal *doxa* in which powerful hegemonic discourse become obscured and naturalized (Erickson and Murphy 2008).

Symbolic violence is useful for understanding the inequalities, and their acceptance, that exist in Greeley both historically and currently between the white population, the Hispanic population and the recently arrived refugee/immigrant

population. Symbolic violence is the normalizing, through *habitus* and *doxa*, of inequalities via perceptions, expectations, and understandings of bodies and how they fit within the world. Symbolic violence is without consciousness and is not made through conscious choice, will or decision but manifest itself in such things due to preconceived perceptions. Hence, symbolic violence is hidden within society's *habitus*, *doxa* and *fields* (Holmes 2013). *Fields* are the places in which symbolic violence is normalized through societal hegemonic discourses, perpetuated and accepted by all levels of society (Holmes 2013) and is evident within the context of integration in Greeley, Colorado. Structural violence stems from the normalizing effects of symbolic violence. Structural violence is the embodied violence committed by societal inequality systems onto groups and individual in a similar way as if they were physically abused. This violence is most often embodied in individuals who fall in classes, races, and citizenship groups that are outside the dominant group (Holmes 2013:43). And within the context of Greeley the refugee and immigrants are a part of the groups embodying structural violence as perpetuated by Greeley's historically situated fields and *doxas*.

Habitus has numerous conflicting definitions, examples, and arguments about what it is or means (Erickson and Murphy 2008) and it is in need of being defined in relation to this research question and project. Bourdieu writes:

“The *habitus*, a product of history, produces individual and collective practices – more history - in accordance with the schemes generated by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences, which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, tend to guarantee the ‘correctness’ of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms.”

(Bourdieu 1990:495)

I find this description of *habitus* from Bourdieu very helpful by focusing *habitus* in relation to understanding and examining my research question. For the purposes of this paper, I use Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* to refer to the cultural production, changes, impacts, perceptions, and manifestations within four societal spheres, as I observed in Greeley, and how they interact within themselves, amongst each other, and in relation to history, especially the historical landscape of Greeley.

The first sphere of *habitus* consists of the individual level; meaning the *habitus* of individual refugees, immigrants, and members of Greeley's community. The individual level *habitus* includes not only the agency of the individuals to contest, modify, and circumvent societal hegemonic discourses, but also how these determine, effect, modify, and change the individual. The second sphere of *habitus* includes the intra-ethnic communities of the refugees, immigrants and local Greeley members. This includes the fields, praxis, and *doxas* of communities that are comprised of linguistically and ethnically similar individuals. The third sphere consists of inter-ethnic community *habitus*. These inter-ethnic communities comprise of linguistically, cultural, and ethnically distinct individuals who interact in unique, usually new, fields of society. The fourth sphere of *habitus* consists of the larger Greeley community, its socio-political-economic history, *fields* and *doxa*. The individual *habitus* interacts 'upwards' with the larger *habitus* of inter and intra ethnic groups, and lastly with the larger Greeley, societal, *habitus*. Conversely, the larger Greeley *habitus* dictates over, impacts and changes the *habitus* of the lower spheres down to the individual level.

What is perceived as natural within the context of Greeley, such as the assumptions that immigrants and refugees occupy labor intensive jobs, are unconsciously segregated to

specific portions of the city, or even accept the beliefs, ideologies, and policies that created the Espanola Subdivision in Greeley, are not natural but culturally constructed and comprise aspects of Greeley's larger *habitus*. And while society and hegemonic discourses are influencing the lived realities of the refugees and immigrants, they in turn are using their agency to act with, contest, and modify these larger societal culturally constructed realities. However, this is not to say that the immigrants and refugees act completely independently of the larger hegemonic discourses. Their *habitus*, like the *habitus* of all individuals, are modified, dictated and endowed with meaning, direction, pathways, and specific motivating structures by the larger *habitus* of the societies in which they lived and now occupy (McGee 2012; Bourdieu 1990). Bourdieu writes,

“The practical world that is constituted in the relationship with the *habitus*, acting as a system of cognitive and motivating structures, is a world of already realized ends – procedures to follow, paths to take – and of objects endowed with a ‘permanent teleological character’, in Husserl’s phrase, tools or institutions.”

(Bourdieu 1990:53)

In other words, the lived realities of the refugees and immigrants is to some extent predetermined through Greeley's *habitus*, symbolic violence, and normalizing *doxa*.

Refugees and immigrants already have ‘tools’ and ‘institutions’ within their own personal *habitus* that define their actions, social structures, and agency within Greeley. Bourdieu also discusses that *habitus* is heavily defined by earlier experiences (Bourdieu 1990) such as childhood (McGee 2012:493). Hence, for the refugees and immigrants, their homes of origin will have the most influence over their current *habitus* structures and lived realities. Due to this, their ‘tools’ and ‘institutions’ are not necessarily from the conscious but rather come from the ‘subconscious’ or are ‘second nature’ (McGee 2012).

Hence, throughout my research it became apparent as to why and how the refugees and immigrants integrate in the way they did from their point of reference, or *habitus*.

1.2.2 Agency

Max Weber's theory of agency is useful for a more thorough understanding of the refugee and immigrant individual *habitus*, as mentioned above. Agency is "...creative acts of intentioned individuals that generate social form and meaning" (Erickson and Murphy 2008:81). Agency, according to Weber, acknowledges individuals in the entirety, as acting, thinking and feeling humans that are centrally important to the creation, maintenance, and production of cultural and societal structures, forms and norms (Erickson and Murphy 2008).

Various pieces of research and literature call for a focus on agency and social transformation in regards to refugee experiences. Agency provides a new way of understanding and (re)conceptualizing migrants, refugees, and their shared experiences. Agency focuses on people as social actors influencing and engaging in their lives, decisions, situations, and the larger world.

"Agency implies both a certain knowledgeability, whereby experiences and desires are reflexively interpreted and internalized (consciously or otherwise), and the capability to command relevant skills, access to material and non-material resources and engage in particular organizing practices"

(Long 2001:49, as quoted in Essed et al. 2004:2).

Focusing on the agency of refugees and migrants helps to remove the essentialized version of them as 'victims', displaced and lost. Refocusing on the individual agency of refugees and migrants helps with understanding issues of identity and social relations, such that gender identities, religious beliefs and practices, and intra-

ethnic social bonds all change and are renegotiated in response to displacement and resettlement. Refugees have individual decisions, experiences, and life courses that are intertwined with the larger economic, social, political and cultural realities of the world. This implies that, refugees are not just affected by these processes and structures but effect, modify, and change them as well (Essed et al. 2004).

1.3 Social Transformation and Components of Integration

Human movement via migration due to economic hardship/opportunity or fleeing travesty is nothing new, hence ‘refugeeness’ is not strange or unusual. Social transformation accompanies migration movements in that societies, both sending and receiving, are affected in some way or another by the migration patterns. Agency of the refugees and immigrants is essential for best understanding social transformation of a receiving community. As an agent, refugees/immigrants change themselves in response to displacement and resettlement (Essed et al. 2004).

Examining social transformation helps conceptualize the challenges, consequences, and changes for the people living in the host community (Essed et al. 2004). Furthermore, peaceful social transformation occurs through successful integration of refugees and immigrants into a host community, best achieved as a ‘two-way street’ because it requires not just the refugees and immigrants to adapt but the host community as well (Ager and Strang 2008; Castles et al. 2002; Korac 2003). Social transformation also results in permanent change of the sending and receiving communities, both painful and rewarding. There is no going back to the way things were before the migration occurred (Essed et al. 2004).

Properly integrating refugees and immigrants into a host community is beneficial overall for not just the refugees and immigrants, but also the host community. And it occurs within a process of change and responsibility for both the newcomers of refugees and immigrants and the host community (Ager and Strang 2008; Korac 2003:52). While the host community is burdened by providing help, benefits, and aid, often in cultural and financially challenging ways the refugees and immigrants do bring their particular capabilities and resources to the host community (Essed et al. 2004).

The term integration is used in varying ways with different definitions and meanings and therefore is hard to pin down (Ager and Strang 2008; Korac 2003; Castles et al. 2002). Accordingly, there is no generally accepted definition, or theoretical framework upon which to analyze integration of newcomer populations (Castles et al. 2002:114).

The implementation of integration policies and initiatives is often institutionalized at the state level through various government agencies, policies and nonprofits, as seen in Northern Europe and major cities of the U.S.A. Cases also exist, however, in which no such programs or institutions exist or provide little to no social assistance as seen in Southern Europe (Korac 2003) and in certain original aspects of Greeley. Greeley is not and was not a primary resettlement site (West and Odiwuor, interview with author, October 8, 2015; Heffel 2013), meaning refugees were and are not placed there by the U.S. Department of State, who is responsible for assigning refugees to their host sites (“Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration”; Heffel 2013). Hence, when the refugees first arrived, there were no governmental or nonprofit agencies in place to help with integrating them into Greeley (West and Odiwuor, interview with author, October 8,

2015). This makes Greeley a unique case study because it only very recently became (as of 2007) a secondary resettlement site for refugees and the city government was not anticipating their arrival (West and Odiwuor, interview with author, October 8, 2015; Heffel 2013) Hence, Greeley is a fascinating case study into how social transformation occurs through the integration of a diverse group of refugees and immigrants.

Korac (2003) discusses the differences between the Netherlands' state-sponsored refugee integration policies and programming versus the lack of Italy's state-sponsored refugee integration services and social welfare. The findings are telling and helpful in understanding what is happening in Greeley. While the refugees in the Netherlands did better in the short-term by being immediately provided by the state with food, housing and healthcare, the long-term affects left them feeling socially isolated and excluded, insecure in their political and social standings within the Netherlands, and bitter towards the controlling nature of the integration system. In contrast, the refugees in Italy had much hardship in the short-term due to the lack of social welfare and services and struggled severely to find adequate shelter and employment. However, in the long-term they had tighter social connections to the *host* community, felt politically and socially sound, and chose for themselves how and to what degree they wanted to integrate into Italian culture (Korac 2003).

The irony is often state-run integration programs are assumed to be the best way to integrate refugees and immigrants, but if state programming is too 'top down' and lacks refugee input, it actually can hinder and impede integration (Korac 2003). 'Top down' state programming and institutions are too often built off of presupposed assumptions of refugees, refuge, and displacement and often result in disastrous

consequences. The agency of refugees is not considered nor is the social transformation that occurs when people migrate (Essen et al. 2004). It also creates a situation in which the refugees and immigrants only contact and interaction with ‘local’ people of the host community are with state employees (and not normal citizens) further socially isolating them. This is what occurred in the Netherlands with its top down heavily institutionalized integration system. The study generally found that refugees living in Italy, with its lacking institutions, were more socially and culturally integrated than the refugees resettled in the Netherlands (Korac 2003).

Because Greeley lacked state-sponsored or state- run programming for refugee integration it left a large social service vacuum. Greeley’s government initially failed to provide services to the refugees it allowed for ‘empowering self-initiatives’ among the refugees and immigrants (Essed et al. 2004). Asad Abdi, an Ethiopian refugee, who came to Greeley in 2007 to work for JBS Meat Packing, recognized this gap and started the East African Community Center (EACC) [now the Global Refugee Center (GRC)] in 2008 in Greeley (Heffel 2013) providing English language education, GED and citizenship courses. The center also provides help with job, welfare, and Medicaid applications to the refugee/immigrant community, as well as acting as a liaison between the refugee/immigrant community and the City of Greeley and other government agencies (GRC 2015; West and Odiwuor, interview with author, October 8, 2015; Heffel 2013). Greeley’s lack of government programming for integration can be seen as a failure, and in certain ways it was and still is, but I argue that the social service vacuum left by the local government actually was a blessing in disguise because it allowed the

refugees and immigrants to use their own agency and voices to create their own nonprofit providing services best suited to their particular social, political, and cultural needs.

1.3.1 Integration

"Integration is a long-term two-way process of change, that relates both to the conditions for and the actual participation of refugees in all aspects of life of the country of durable asylum as well as to refugees; own sense of belonging and membership..."

(ECRE 1999b: 4 as cited in Ager and Strang 2008:177)

Ager and Strang (2008) created a conceptual integration framework that provides focus and is applicable for analyzing local situations of integration. I am using Ager and Strang's (2008) integration conceptual framework which supplies ten core interrelated domains that "reflect normative understanding of integration and provides a potential structure for analysis of relevant outcomes" (Ager and Strang 2008:167). This conceptual framework specifically focused on refugees and is intended to be used on refugees.

Castles *et al.* (2002:106) discusses the distinction existing between immigrant and refugee due to their political status and therefore must be kept separate at an institutional level. However, refuge is not inherently different from other forms of migration and no clear distinction exists between political or economic refugees. Refugees and other migrants go through the same considerations, pains, set backs, trials, and issues when physically disconnecting from the country of origin (Essed et al. 2004). Due to the group makeup of the Level Four ESL class in which I participated at the GRC, I was unable to focus only on refugees and I found that my data was greatly expanded by including the immigrants' integration experiences as well. Hence, considering the problematic attempt

to distinguish between refugees and migrants in that they share similar experiences, I choose to include the immigrants' experiences in this research.

This integration conceptual framework gives a more thorough analysis of the refugee/immigrant integration experience in Greeley. It is important to note that this framework does not provide an overarching analysis of political, social, economic and institutional factors and only provides analysis of key components of integration experienced by refugees and immigrants at a local level (Ager and Strang 2008:168).

These ten core domains are interrelated as such without some of these domains being obligatory for the rest to apply to given conditions. The ten core domains are: Rights and Citizenship, Language and Cultural Knowledge, Safety and Stability, Social Bridges (ethnic social connections), Social Bonds (host community connections), Social Links (connections to government and social services), Employment, Housing, Education, and Health. (Ager and Strang 2008). These ten core domains are situated in a hierarchy where if some in the lower level are not met, the upper levels are less likely to be met.

Rights and Citizenship is considered the 'foundation' of integration, meaning that without legal permanent status and rights equal to that of the host society, refugees and immigrants cannot fully integrate. Language and Cultural Knowledge, and Safety and Stability are the 'facilitators', meaning that without a sense of safety, local language skills and host culture understanding, refugees and immigrants are greatly limited by their interaction with the host society which in turn affects employment, housing, and an overall sense of home and belonging. Social bridges and social bonds are distinct in that social bridges are relationships with inter-ethnic persons, i.e. the host community or other

refugees or immigrants of different ethnic or linguistic backgrounds while social bonds are relationships and contact with intra-ethnic persons, or people from the same ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. Social links are the connections refugees and immigrants have to government systems, be it health care (like Medicaid, clinics and hospitals), education, welfare, and other social services. Social bridges, bonds and links are the ‘social connections’, which create and allow access to employment, housing, education, and health. Lastly, these four components, are the ‘markers and means’ of integration. This means it is likely it is likely that if these four components are fulfilled the other components are being met (Ager and Strang 2008).

However, Ager and Strang emphasize that the ‘markers and means’ of integration can be greatly misleading in that they may initially portray that successful integration is occurring when many other components have not been met. This is why quantitative data can be misleading because it will show that a certain number of refugees are housed, employed etc. which may give a false conclusion of successful integration. Qualitative data, the research method used for this thesis, allows for the researcher to dig deeper into the complexities of the integration situation at the given research site (Korac 2003). While conceptually these hierarchies of integration components interact and build onto each other, in reality this is not always how the integration process works and sometimes certain domains are met prior to others. It is critical to understand that each domain of integration interacts and is affected by the other domains and no one domain acts independently of the others. A possible situation can arise in which certain domains are met but others are not and yet integration is still occurring on some level (Ager and Strang 2008).

For the purposes of this thesis, I will be focusing on the integration domains of Employment, Housing, Social Bonds and Social Bridges. Language and Cultural Knowledge and Safety and Stability will be tied into housing and building a sense of home through original cultural practices. My original research question sought to answer questions related to these domains and therefore I lack sufficient data to address the other domains provided by Ager and Strang (2008).

1.3.2 Employment

The first domain I will begin with is employment because it is a very critical domain that needs to be met in order for the refugees and immigrants to have sense of self-worth and independence, to acquire language and cultural knowledge, be exposed to members of the host community, and begin being able to plan for the future. Proper employment provides refugees and immigrants the opportunity to save money, plan for the future, and eventually invest in starting their own small businesses (Ager and Strang 2008; Lundborg 2013).

Ager and Strand (2008; Lundborg 2013; Lamba 2003) discuss that employment is critical to successful integration because it provides refugees with money, economic independence and self-reliance, acquisition of job and language skills, as well as a place to meet, connect, and build relationships with members of the host community. Refugees who are employed are less likely to be depressed, integrate better, and feel more a part of the host community. Employment also highlights the importance of intra-ethnic networks for finding job opportunities, getting jobs, and also for commuting between the work place and places of residence. Employment also provides opportunities to meet and build

relationships with inter-ethnic people and local members of the host community (Ager and Strang 2008; Korac 2003; Lamba 2003).

Often refugees' and immigrants' previous work experiences go unrecognized by the host community and they end up working jobs either only part time, beneath their skill set, or with no potential opportunities for significant wage increases (Ager and Strang 2008; Korac 2003; Krahn et al 2000; Lamba 2003; Lundborg 2013). Issues of racial discrimination are critical to refugee and immigrant situations in host countries and can have longer-term negative employment and wage effects (Kibreab 2004; Lundborg 2013).

Refugees who worked in managerial positions or professional occupations often never reenter those positions in the host countries. Generally, amongst host countries in Europe and Northern America there is strong evidence of downward occupational mobility. Reasons for this are basic lack of understanding of the host country's labor market, limited host country language skills, and extended employment gaps due to the time spent fleeing countries of origin or living in refugee camps. But other reasons exist such as structural barriers that dictate strict entry control of higher status occupations and professions with the associated failure to recognize and legitimize previous professional training and experience. Other issues causing the downward mobility of employment for refugees is due to restrictive or inadequate labor market training and host language programs (Krahn et al 2000; Lamba 2003).

Due to their downward employment mobility, refugees and immigrants often find themselves in jobs perpetuating structural violence on their bodies. Seth Holmes writes in his book *Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies*, about the structural violence embodied in the Triqui

farm laborers through crippling premature arthritis and other chronic ailments due to the repetitive motions and long hours of back breaking labor endured on berry farms (2013:88-110). A similar structural violence exists and adversely impacts the refugees and immigrants working at JBS. Furthermore, the failure to acknowledge previous work experience, in addition to the overall discrimination against the refugee/immigrant community due to race, ethnicity and language, results in this group being chronically subjected to structural violence perpetuated by the types of jobs made available to them (Holmes 2013; Krahn et al 2000).

As mentioned previously, employment provides an avenue for refugees and immigrants to save money and eventually open their own businesses (Ager and Strang 2008; Lundborg 2013). Refugees and immigrants are often entrepreneurs and often specialize in certain industries or economic sectors due to skills sets or to fulfill certain product or service needs of their ethnic groups. If such opportunities become available refugees and immigrants are likely to take advantages of them especially if structural barriers of the receiving community prevent them from finding employment in other sectors (Li and Kaplan 2006).

Often refugee and immigrant owned business hire employees from the family or intra-ethnic community (Lamba 2003). By buying, selling, and employing within the ethnic group, it allows for the money to stay within the group making it more cohesive and financially stronger (Li and Kaplan 2006). While this provides members of the community with employment, it, however, can greatly hamper long-term upward mobility of these members (Lamba 2003). This is especially problematic if the businesses are small and not strongly financially connected with other ethnic businesses or

consumers (Kaplan and Li 2006). These businesses also serve to transform the receiving community's tastes, wants and even urban landscape by changing the faces and insides of commercial real estate. Refugee and immigrant owned businesses provide an avenue through which they can embed their own meanings, symbolisms, and culture into the receiving community's landscape (Kaplan and Li 2006).

1.3.3 Housing, Sense of Home, and Place

Adequate housing plays a major role in aiding to a sense of home and overall integration because it greatly affects refugees' and immigrants' wellbeing, both physical and emotional, and provides a place of congregating and living within intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic communities. While adequate housing is important for a sense of home, so is safety, security and stability (Ager and Strang 2008), and the ability to engage with cultural practices (Tuan 1977), such as speaking a mother language, cooking familiar foods, and singing and dancing to traditional songs (Dam and Eyles 2012).

Home is home because we make it feel like it is ours. It is not the literal space that creates a sense of home, but rather how we inhabit the space that makes it home. The creation of home is a culturally instilled (Tuan 1977) habit (Wise 2000) and differs culture by culture. It is fluid, changing, and continuous (Wise 2000; Dam and Eyles 2012:4). Home also is not necessarily restrained to inside the walls of a house but can constitute social, community, and economic realms of life as well (Dam and Eyles 2012). This expanded perspective of home, as not confined to the literal house contributes to my explanation of integration in terms of sense of home and comfort in Greeley. Other relevant interdisciplinary refugee articles discuss the need for strong social networks and

the need for 'home' for promoting mental health and negating the potential of emotional distress for refugees resettling in various parts of the world (Warner 2007; Simich 2008; Sampson and Gifford 2010).

Social sciences have conducted much research on refugees, place-identity, and place-making during or after resettlement in a given host country (Sampson and Gifford 2010; Dam and Eyles 2012; Brun 2001). One historical perspective within the Anthropology of Place argues that attachment to place is through intimacy, knowledge, familiarity, history, and social relations. The concept has had resurgence and reestablishes that humans' social events and cultural practices all exist and occur in place (Weiner 2002).

Jeanne Moore (2000) discusses the Theory of Place as "...the result of relationships between actions, conceptions and physical attributes." In order for a space to become a place it must first be created, which is done by giving it meaning and value as it satisfies biological, psychological, and social needs (Tuan 1977; Sampson and Gifford 2010). It is important to understand that for people who become refugees or immigrants place is somewhere between an identification and connection with their homes they left behind and the potential possibilities for building new connections to place within their host countries of resettlement (Sampson and Gifford 2010; Dyck and Dossa 2007). To not have a sense of place is a burden (Dam and Eyles 2012).

Identifying with and attachment to place is linked to self-making and identity (Brun 2001). Social relationships and networks are necessary for a sense of belonging and these occur in space (Dam and Eyles 2012). A sense of place is not about seeing the outside world but rather how one perceives one's self as a part of fitting into that world.

Sense of place and place-making are important for psychological and social well-being, economic stability, and settlement. The most important place to meet these needs is home (Dam and Eyles 2012; Sampson and Gifford 2010). Home is space made into place that has been marked and shaped physically with objects forming borders and boundaries. The creation of home is a cultural process and an intimate place (Tuan 1977; Dam and Eyles 2012; Wise 2000).

Refugees, especially, and immigrants to a degree, are often viewed through the essentialist assumption that upon emigration from their countries of origin they lose their identities and cultures because these are supposedly rooted in place (Brun 2001). It is important to de-essentialize refugees and place so that they are no longer viewed as victims torn from their cultures and identities (Brun 2001; Sampson and Gifford 2010). However, this is not to say that place and identities are not related. Rather, the place, identity, and sense of place are fluid social constructions changing across time and space (Gustafson 2001; Dam and Eyles 2012). Furthermore, life must take place somewhere hence location and physical aspects of the home are important to these constructions (Dam and Eyles 2012). As mentioned above, home is a cultural process and as Wise discusses it, can also be territorialized space; “Cultures are ways of territorializing, the ways one makes oneself at home” (2000:300).

1.3.4 Social Bonds and Social Bridges

Upon leaving or fleeing their countries of origin, refugees and immigrants endure a loss of important and vital social networks including neighbors, kinship systems, group identity and others. Often the loss of social connections and networks is devastating.

(Kibreab 2004). The loss of relationships represents an enormous challenge to individual's coping and adaptive capacities which can result in breakdowns of old social orders, networks, relationships and ways of life (Kibreab 2004).

Entering into a new society, refugees and immigrants face social structures and networks that impose boundaries, restrictions and (Kibreab 2004) systematically exclude them from official systems (Williams 2006). The beliefs and assumptions about refugees and immigrants being passive as commonly held by the receiving society often normalize the structural barriers imposed on them (Lamba and Krahn 2003). Furthermore, it is important to highlight that relative harmony between the receiving and the refugee and immigrant communities does not reflect integration (Ager and Strang 2008). Structural barriers impede access to official and casual networks of influence and control, obstacles which may not be obvious if only social harmony is addressed. Even though structural barriers hinder entry into various parts of society that does not mean that refugees and immigrants passively accept these hindrances. Rather, refugees employ various tactics and social strategies to navigate through and/or around systems they have no or little access too (Williams 2006; Lamba and Krahn 2003).

Social bridges and social bonds are main drivers to remove structural, professional, linguistic and cultural barriers and connect refugees and immigrants to better jobs, housing, education, healthcare, and resources (Ager and Strang 2008). Acknowledging refugee and immigrant agency is important in that they seek out via social networks what they need and find aid that reconciles their priorities, objectives, needs, and wants (Williams 2006). Social networks are fundamental resources through which refugees and immigrants can achieve self-determination, independence and find a

sense of belonging. But without these it greatly cripples any success at integration (Williams 2006; Ager and Strang 2008).

Refugee and immigrant community organizations allow them to have a voice to raise concerns about their specific situations, provide expertise about these issues and respond appropriately and sensitively to their groups' needs (Ager and Strang 2008). These organizations provide access to experienced individuals who can give new members information that is reliable and accurate (Williams 2006).

During their field work, Ager and Strang (2008:117) found that both the refugees and host community had expectations of people mixing from different groups that made for successful integration, not just a lack of conflict.

"Many additionally identified 'belonging' as the ultimate mark of living in an integrated community. This involved links with family, committed friendships and a sense of respect and shared values."

(Ager and Strang 2008:178)

Some refugees and immigrants will have relationships and connections to members of the local community while others will be or feel more connected to social group members back in their country of origin. Some may even have ties with family members who are seeking asylum in other nations. Still others may have no connections to the receiving community, due to language barriers, health issues, social problems, etc., or to their country of origin if they were persecuted and forced to flee (Williams 2006). Hence, these people may have complex ties within the United States, across international borders and with their country of origin (Williams 2006). These complexities can greatly serve or compromise the refugees and immigrants in integration into the receiving community.

Research suggests that refugees and immigrants are proactive in their own integration and resettlement experiences by building influential social networks. Social networks provide an adequate social capital base that is essential for finding needed resources and connections even if they may lack human and/or financial capital; i.e. language, education, job training, and money (Lamba and Krahn 2003) Social capital is the crucial reason why social networks, both within and without an ethnic/linguistic community, are so important. Social capital is influential for identifying resources that are associated with social connection and trust. Social networks include family, ethnic community, service provider and sponsor relationships, and networks with groups and individuals from the receiving community (Lamba 2003). These social networks allow refugee and immigrant individuals and communities to gain access to resources, such as education, health care, employment, housing (Ager and Strang 2008; Lamba 2003) and personal care (Lamba and Krahn 2003). Social networks need to be based on trust and genuine relationships between individuals, groups and institutions (Lamba and Krahn 2003; Ager and Strang 2008). Family networks often provide a base from which to deal with financial and personal issues (Lamba and Krahn 2003). Broader networks, like kinship systems, friendships, and connections with the broader receiving community, compensate for structural barriers associated with finding employment and other resources (Lamba 2003).

1.3.4 a Social Bonds

Social bonds are the connections, networks, ties, and relationships refugees and immigrants have with members of their same ethnicity, language group, culture or country of origin. Refugees and immigrants often come from group oriented cultures

where community is essential. Many refugees and immigrants go to places where fellow members live because of the important social capital resources made available to them (Williams 2006). Social bonds provide individuals with employment information, housing, and even translation at hospitals, training centers, and government offices (Lamba and Krahn 2003; Ager and Strang 2008).

Connections with members of the same ethnic, cultural or linguistic background has been shown to be beneficial toward integration. Often these connections are used to simulate traditional social orders, family structures, and cultural practices that are familiar and comfortable (Williams 2006; Ager and Strang 2008). Close proximity to family or intra-ethnically similar people is important for sharing and reaffirming cultural practices and traditions (Williams 2006) and “maintaining familiar patterns of relationships” (Ager and Strang 2008:178). Social bonds bring the same or nearly similar emotional and social value to the group wherever it may be located even if the ‘utility’ has changed (Williams 2006). Often it is these social bonds and the support they provide that helps refugees and immigrants adjust to new life and successfully integrate (Lamba and Krahn 2003).

Refugees and immigrants with familial and extra-familial ties often have significantly higher quality of employment. Family networks are linked to higher social capital so even if the family moves they are more likely to establish economic security and improve their capital base (Lamba and Krahn 2003). If, however, the familial network is compromised due to moving or separation, the focus on family reunification

can greatly hamper economic opportunities, stability and social integration (Lamba and Krahn 2003).

Intra-ethnic connections and groups, in general, help members find and adjust to differing employment opportunities (Ager and Strang 2008; Lamba 2003). The familial and ethnic connections do not compensate, however, for the occupational downward mobility often experienced by refugees and immigrants (Lamba 2003). Unfortunately, ethnic groups and family ties do not have the *capital power* to overcome employment and professional structural barriers (Lamba 2003).

Social bonds also provide a way to collect money and resources for the ethnic group to mitigate economic insecurity for all members. Resources such as household labor, child care, and food preparation may be shared by members of an ethnic group or family network (Lamba and Krahn 2003). The social bonds support both intra-ethnic and familial function as 'strategies for survival' (Lamba 2003). These efforts may be limited, though, if they have inadequate access to resettlement services and limited knowledge and access to job training, employment opportunities, and cultural norms of the receiving community (Lamba 2003).

Social bonds differ depending on complexities of individual and group situations. Some refugees and immigrants may only have connections with their country of origin and yet others, who were rejected by their country of origin, may only have networks, or social bridges with receiving community members. Furthermore, some individual refugees and immigrants might identify only with their families because while they may

share nationality or ethnicity with a group they have little else in common (Williams 2006).

1.3.4 b Social Bridges

"But the phrase 'two-way' ...points to the importance for integration to be seen as a process of mutual accommodation, and thus the need to consider means of social connection between refugees and those other members of the communities within which they settle."

(Ager and Strang 2008:177)

Social bridges are the connections, networks, ties and relationships built by and existing between communities. Such connections include refugee and immigrant communities reaching across ethnicities or language groups, or between these communities and the receiving community. Most literature is primarily concerned with general social harmony between the newcomers (refugees and immigrants) and the host community. But social harmony reflects little of relationships, connections, and ties that are actually happening among these communities. Furthermore, social bridges are essential and/or helpful for the removal and breakdown of structural, social, and cultural barriers that often marginalize refugees and immigrants. Social harmony, again, tells little about what social and structural barriers are being overcome or mitigated (Ager and Strang 2008).

An important factor, noted by Ager and Strang (2008), is that a sense of home is accompanied by the perceived 'friendliness' of host community members in addressing newcomers on the street and acknowledging them as neighbors. Such friendliness is important for refugees and immigrants to feel safe and secure

in their neighborhoods and as they move through their daily lives in the city. Conversely ‘unfriendliness’ undermines other successful components of integration (Ager and Strang 2008). Friendly conversing allows for people to get to know each other hampering preconceived prejudices.

Friendliness from the receiving community is important for short term interactions and helps maintain a sense of home, quality of life, and safety. However, friendliness does not address issues that arise over the long term. Meaningful social relationships between communities are essential for a long term sense and reality of belonging through friendships, community and marital prospects (Ager and Strang 2008; Lamba and Krahn 2003). Genuine social bridges are imperative for overcoming social, cultural and structural barriers to housing, employment and other resources (Ager and Strang 2008). Refugees and immigrants need to have varying types and qualities of relationships and networks with members of the host community to gain access to pieces of society that are initially barred from them (Williams 2006; Lamba and Krahn 2003).

Social bridges also provide an avenue for refugees and immigrants to fulfill their own potential and abilities because they have access to diverse social capital through which to achieve certain goals (Ager and Strang 2008). Authentic integration implies that refugees and immigrants will freely and equally participate in key societal spheres, and will further utilize places and resources in the same ways as local members of the receiving community, meaning without fear or prejudice. In order to create ease of entry into these spheres, they have to

interact with the host community, or alternatively the host community must genuinely and purposefully interact with them (Ager and Strang 2008). It enables them to find places to shop, where to get support via social and health services, and be a part of the broader community (Williams 2006).

Such interactions and relationship building can occur at work, schools, and other community groups and venues. Social bridges help refugees and immigrants become familiar with societal daily routines, cultural values, and idiosyncratic tendencies, perceptions, assumptions and structures of the host community. Ideally, over time refugees and immigrants build non-familial networks with neighbors, co-workers, employers, and other community members and with the wide range of service providers (Lamba and Krahn 2003). Hence these networks are not along ethnic lines (Williams 2006).

1.4 Research Question

This research will examine the integration experiences of a group of refugees, immigrants and local community members residing in Greeley, Colorado by exploring this question:

What are the integration experiences relating to employment, housing, social bonds and social bridges of the refugees, immigrants, and local members living within the historically segregated urban landscape of Greeley, Colorado?

I will answer this question in three chapters. *Findings: Employment, Housing, Home, Safety and Language* examines employment experiences with

JBS meat packing including opportunities, pay, cultural adjustments, work-related injuries, and structural violence. It also discusses problems of chronic underemployment and explores refugee and immigrant owned businesses. Living conditions are also explored including places, experiences of housing, sense of home, and safety. I will show how language and culture are imperative in creating a sense of home. *Findings: Social Bonds and Social Bridges* explores the reasoning why bonds and bridges are formed while others are not and the resulting positive and negative consequences. This chapter highlights how social bridges are most often built only if members of the receiving community put forth the effort. The last chapter, *Findings: Place and Greeley's Urban Landscape* examines the portion of the city inhabited and frequented by the refugees and immigrants juxtaposed to the historically segregated urban landscape of Greeley, and the role this plays into the integration experiences and segregation of the refugees and immigrants from the broader Greeley community.

My goal of this thesis to describe and analyze the integration experiences of refugees and immigrants as it relates to the above mentioned domains and how these are situated and juxtaposed to the urban landscape and history of Greeley, while contesting the same with their own culture. The employment situation for the refugees and immigrants is empowering in terms of decent wage jobs available through JBS but disenfranchising in the high turn-over rate inescapable to the meat packing industry. Working at JBS causes work-related injuries perpetuating structural violence. This is exacerbated by the few employment opportunities that exist outside of JBS. Employers are unwilling to acknowledge

the refugee's and immigrant's previous work experience and skills leading to chronic underemployment. Some of this is countered by the creation of refugee and immigrant owned businesses that serve as a place where refugees and immigrants can practice and share their cultures with the broader community. Most refugee and immigrant housing options are only available in low cost, poor quality areas due to their general low income levels. But they do find and create a sense of home through ethnic bonds, language, culture, and family.

Social bonds explores the importance of maintaining and connecting with people who are of the same ethnic, cultural, and/or linguistic background to create a sense of belonging and help cope with adjusting to new ways of life. This subsection delves into the complex experiences of certain key informants and how having or not having social bonds effects their integration experiences and general well-being and security.

The subsection focusing on social bridges is complicated and multifaceted. It is encouraging that social bridges are being formed across ethnic lines among the refugee and immigrant communities at the GRC and at work. But Greeley's taxonomies and tradition of segregation results in daily non-interactions between refugees and immigrants and Greeley's local members. This unfortunate reality is only challenged in specific contexts and by certain local actors. I explore the social bridging benefits of the Roots Project, how it uses Greeley's immigrant past as a point of commonality and to facilitate place building for the refugee and immigrant communities via interaction with locals and history. Importantly this

kind of social transformation is beginning to occur at the individual and community level.

Lastly, I will examine how all of these issues interact in the urban landscape and how the historical social production of space, with its segregating qualities, are still effecting the daily lives and futures of the newcomers and Greeley's local members. The refugee and immigrant business and positions within the urban landscape actually serve to construct space to their own needs and cultural liking. While their presence is not overwhelming or significantly transforming, it still contests the production of the landscape and emphasizes their usage and presence within it.

Chapter 2

Methods

2.1 Research Objective

This research project explored the experiences of integration for a small group of refugees, immigrants, and local leaders living in Greeley Colorado. I sought to understand if and how integration occurred in Greeley, how each group adapted to it and what aspects facilitated, perpetuated, or inhibited it. My research questions are laid out below

- How is the integration of the refugees and immigrants living in Greeley, Colorado happening?
- What factors affect integration and how do they affect it?
- What roles do the refugee's/immigrant's agencies and cultures play in facilitating integration?
- How is the local Greeley population, businesses, churches, and urban landscape changing or staying the same to help or hinder integration of the refugees and immigrants?

2.2 Research Design

I used an inductive, empiricist, and qualitative approach to formulate this research project's design. My qualitative research approach included participant observation, informal interviews, and semi-structured interviews, key informant mapping, and cross

section driving (Clay 2003). At first I found patterns in my initial observations and informal interviews leading me to issues of integration and therefore seeking theoretical frameworks through which to tweak my research design. Hence, I gradually moved away from an inductive approach toward a deductive approach. My research design is from an interpretative humanist approach (Bernard 2011) because I, the researcher, was unable to completely remove myself from the field site, Greeley, and my key informants due to my past history with them. I embrace that I am a part of the community of Greeley and the Global Refugee Center (GRC) and that there will inevitably be inherited bias, preconceived perceptions and interpretations in my analysis (Bernard 2011). My research approaches and analytical processes are designed to mitigate these biases, perceptions and interpretations. However, I find my close relationship with Greeley and some key informants provided me some insightful research design components and data analysis. Later, during the course of my field site time, I conducted a cross-sectional drive of Greeley (Clady 2003), informed by my key informant interviews and mapping of crucial areas of Greeley for the refugees, immigrants, and local Greeley community members.

2.3 Variables and Dimensions

Integration dependent variables I sought to better understand were employment, housing, sense of home and belonging, overall health, education, language and cultural learning, citizenship and safety, inter and intra-ethnic social connections and networks, government services and programming, and modifications in the urban landscape. I sought to understand independent variables that impact these dependent variables of integration (Ager and Strang 2008) in order to examine if and how these were being met. An independent variable I delved into was original cultural practices of the refugees and

immigrants due to its potential as being either a facilitator or inhibitor of overall integration. I explored the impacts of relationships and interactions the refugees and immigrants have with each other and the host community on all parties experiences of integration. Second, I considered access to the city, county and/or state governments, services and programs. Along with this, I explored if and what changes were made within the administering of these services and programs to better meet the needs of the refugees and immigrants. Third, I examined the overall sense and opinion on job access, availability and training and its impact on employment, language and cultural learning, and social networking. I also considered the role of citizenship including previous, current, and future or anticipated citizenship and how this affects sense of safety and belonging. Access to education that promotes language and cultural learning, GED certification and citizenship is also an important independent variable because it helps promote employment, sense of safety and intra-ethnic social networks. Fourth, I analyzed the immigrant, industry, and segregated history of Greeley and its manifestations in the urban landscape and culture of this small city. Lastly, I considered the agency of the refugees and the immigrants and how it affects their and Greeley's experiences of integration.

2.4 Population and Sample

The population of interest is the newly arrived (as of 2007) refugees and recently arrived (after 1980) immigrants living in Greeley and members of Greeley's local population that are somehow involved with the refugees, immigrants, GRC, and major groups, institutions or businesses of Greeley, and/or city or county governments. My sample is a non-probability sample of refugees and immigrants found by asking for

volunteers from the Level Four English as a Second Language class offered at the GRC to speak to me about their experiences of living in Greeley. Eleven people from this class volunteered to be interviewed with me. The local Greeley key informants I either already knew from previous volunteering and research related encounters, was introduced to via the GRC, or met during community outreach engagement days at the GRC. I met with seven local Greeley key informants and all are in some way connected to the refugees, immigrants, the GRC, some local institution or business, and the city or county governments.

2.5 Data Collection and Data Analysis

2.5.1 Participant Observation

I started my participant observation in June of 2015 by I volunteering to teach English in the language classes offered at the GRC. I conducted participant observation once or twice per week through the months of June, July, and August, and more sporadically throughout September, October, November and December. I also conducted a cross-sectional drive of Greeley informed by the key informant mapping (discussed below) of crucial areas for the refugees, immigrants and local Greeley people. I also conducted participant observation of key points, including refugee and immigrant owned restaurants and shops, during my cross-sectional drive. I was invited to conduct more participant observations during multiply Roots Project Visit meetings with the Centennial Village Museum (CVM) Staff, during the actual Roots Project Visit at the CVM, and during the University of Northern Colorado's (UNC) Community Engaged Scholars Symposium, and during the Roots Project Reception at UNC. At these meetings and events, I conducted informal interviews as well. I hand wrote field notes of my

participant observations and informal interviews and then typed them up after leaving the field site.

2.5.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

After I had built enough rapport and understanding of the situation, I began conducting interviews with my refugee, immigrant, and local key informants. The refugee and immigrant key informant semi-structured interviews were conducted in an empty classroom of the GRC. To embrace the notion of reciprocity that is more common in anthropological studies, I structured the semi-structured interview with two distinct guides relating to the aspects of the research question that would benefit the English learning the refugee and immigrant key informants. The first guide is more structured in nature, though I used it to ask other questions, was read out loud by the refugees and immigrants to practice their English reading comprehension and pronunciation as well as conduct the interview. The second semi-structured interview guide was structured to practice English conversational skills. Times of these interviews ranged from 20 to 40 minutes. Follow up interviews were conducted in the same manner. I used a different semi-structured interview guide with local Greeley key informants. These interviews were conducted at coffee shops of key informants choice or in specified offices of the GRC. Times ranged from one to two hours per interview. Some key informants names used throughout this thesis are pseudonyms per their requests. Abel, Beth, Ann, Bob Smith, and Jane McConnell are pseudonyms, all other names are true.

Per consent of each key informant, interviews were audio recorded on my computer (meeting IRB requirements) and I wrote field notes during the interviews. I transcribed each audio recording word for word. I conducted thematic analysis (Bernard

and Ryan 2010) of all the transcriptions and field notes using two-column feature in Microsoft Word. My themes are advised by Ager and Strang's conceptual framework of ten domains of integration (2008) and my code books (Bernard and Ryan 2010) borrows from this model as well as includes findings from my data.

2.5.3 Cognitive Mapping and Cross-Section Drive

I used a map of Greeley I printed from Google Maps that only highlighted the GRC's current location. I used this map as the template map for all of my key informant mapping. I conducted sessions of mapping exercises with the ESL Level Four class at the GRC during class and asked the refugees and immigrants to volunteer to participate. All refugee and immigrant key informants understood the purpose of the maps, volunteered to provide me with the information, and provided verbal consent. I also used this template map during my local Greeley key informant interviews.

I converged all of the data from each refugee and immigrant key informant map and my cross sectional drive (Clay 2003) and observations onto template maps and analyzed them against and in relation to each other and in relation to other historic data driven maps of Greeley I constructed.

2.6 Research Ethics

I received approval for this study from the Institutional Review Board at the University of Denver on June 10, 2015. All of my key informants provided informed consent. Those that participated in semi-structured interviews provided written consent and key informants gave verbal consent during informal interviews. All were informed of my research project before the interview. I did not compensate my key informants.

Chapter Three

Findings: Employment

3. Employment

Employment is crucial for successful integration and is a major focus, concern, and priority for the refugees, immigrants, and local Greeley members I interviewed. Many of my key informants are somehow connected to JBS either by past or current employment. Others have a family member or spouse in the same situation with JBS. JBS is a main focus of employment because it is the main employer of the refugees and immigrants living in Greeley. This is because of the company's past and present active recruiting efforts to employ these groups. JBS has made efforts to modify work schedules and practices to accommodate the needs, belief systems, and cultural practices of the refugee and immigrants. Various difficulties, set backs, discriminations, and social networks generally circumscribe the experiences of applying for and receiving job positions. Previous work experience, especially that which occurred outside the United States is often not considered by potential employers and creates issues of downward mobility that have yet to be changed into upward mobility.

3.1 Working for JBS

Many of the refugees and immigrants I spoke with either had been employed by, were currently employed, had a spouse employed or were seeking employment with JBS

Meat Packing. Most of my refugee/immigrant key-informants moved to Greeley from Denver for job opportunities available at JBS. Most of my refugee/immigrant key informants learned about job opportunities at JBS from intra-ethnic social networks or through the recruiting practices of the company. The Food Services of School District 6, a few bakers, hotel cleaning services and a few other businesses besides JBS employ some refugees living in Greeley. Hence, employment outside of JBS is hard to come by specifically for the refugees and somewhat for immigrants.

JBS attracts refugees and immigrants due to its low-skill job requirements, relatively high hourly wages, good health insurance benefits, and overall flexibility in accommodating various cultural needs of its employees. JBS pays better than other types of jobs available for many refugees and immigrants and allows for a family to survive decently in Greeley. If frugal, some are able to save some money for the future. Many of the refugee owned businesses dotting Greeley's urban landscape started because the refugees were able to save enough money and invest in their own businesses. This also has provided the refugees some employment independence from JBS and the few other employers in Greeley. An example of a refugee who started with JBS but were able to save money to go out on their own is Asad Abdi, who started the East African Community Center (EACC) in 2008, now the Global Refugee Center (GRC).

Of the eleven refugee and immigrant people I interviewed, five people currently work for JBS. Of these five people one's spouse also works for JBS. Three people were previously employed at JBS; one left for a work related injury, one left for conflicts with children's school schedules, and one left to take care of her/his children. One refugee,

Kyaw Aung (interview with author, August 4, 2015) an ethnically Burmese refugee from Myanmar, told me he was seeking employment with JBS.

Marsh: ...do you work? Or have a job yet?

Kyaw Aung: no I am trying

Marsh: where are you trying?

Kyaw Aung: I am trying at JBS, for three weeks, no answer yet

One immigrant did not work for JBS but a family relative did. Only one person, an immigrant from Mexico, did not work for JBS and had no connection with the company. This person works on the oilrigs in Northern Colorado. Of the larger refugee population of Greeley the vast majority are employed by or have a family member employed by JBS. Hence, the refugees and the immigrants are heavily dependent on JBS for employment.

Of the five people who currently work for JBS, two are women and three are men, two are immigrants and three are refugees (this does not correlate to gender). The countries these five people represent are Eritrea, Burma (Karenni and Rohingya ethnicity), Guatemala, and Cameroon. Of these five people, I approximated two are over the age of fifty, one is in their mid forties, and two are in their late twenties. Four of these people said the work at JBS was ‘very hard’, most likely physically demanding, and one said it was easy. Many of these people found out about job opportunities through some sort of a social network. Margarito (interview with author, July 28, 2015), a Guatemalan immigrant who has lived in Greeley for over 20 years said this about his experience of learning about job opportunities at JBS and working there.

Marsh: Why did you come to Greeley from California? How did you choose Greeley?

Margarito: Maybe for my brother

Marsh: He was here?

Margarito: Yeah...he call me, come and join us there is job with company here...It was easy, yeah

Marsh: Where do you work at?

Margarito: At JBS. I work in the waste department, yes...

Marsh: Do you feel comfortable at JBS?

Margarito: Yes, it's a good place, its an easy job, it pays good, \$17 per hour, I work 40 hours in week. Some time work salary, make 8 hours over the 40 hours, overtime. Its good this... Its close to my house, five ten minutes...

Immigrants from Cameroon, Evelyn (interview with author, July 27, 2015) and her husband found their jobs at JBS through a family friend.

Marsh: How did you end up in Greeley, how did you choose Greeley?

Evelyn: Because my husband is deaf, my husband leave, my husband leave my country and come and live with his friend in Denver. And that's why he was looking for job and he found job in Greeley.

Marsh: Where does he work?

Evelyn: He was working at Walgreen. But because he go to school, doctor, he go to medical he comes out, he was working at Walgreen. But they were not paying good, so he had to leaven and look where there is money and JBS. He is working at JBS.

And Sona (interview with author, August 4, 2014), a refugee from Burma said that many Rohingya (his ethnic group), came to Greeley for jobs with JBS.

Marsh: Are there many Rohingya in Greeley?

Sona: When I first came here there were only a four or five people, but now 100 people. This year, many people come for job

Marsh: Do they come for JBS?

Sona: Yeah

The refugee and immigrant social networks are important for learning about potential job opportunities and getting certain jobs. Without these networks, finding such employment would likely be much more difficult.

Sona (interview with author, August 4, 2014), said this about working at JBS:

Marsh: You want to stay there [JBS]?

Sona: Yeah, because I like, everyone like me. I like to work at JBS. I have been working at JBS for four years and I never miss a day...

Sona is often asked to translate for the other Rohingya people receiving health care or for people in the higher office. Translating, a task outside his normal work duties, gives him a sense of being needed, helpful, and secure socially and in his employment. He said he has many friends at JBS (this discussed further in Social Connection chapter) and it pays him well.

Asad Abdi started the EACC out of a need for a cultural liaison between JBS and the Muslims working at JBS after the religious/work scheduling conflict in 2008 (see Literature Review, 1.3 The Meatpacking Industry and Changing Labor Demographics for

more background). What is very telling about Sona's (interview with author, August 4, 2014) experience of working at JBS is related to him being a Muslim. He said this:

Marsh: Do you get to pray at JBS?

Sona: Yeah they give time.

Marsh: Do you do that or do you keep working?

Sona: Yeah, I do

Marsh: Do you like that you are able to pray at work?

Sona: Yeah

JBS gives him the time to pray five times a day and also gives him shifts that allow him to attend the ESL classes at the GRC a few times per week. Allowing Sona and other Muslims the time to pray shows how a local entity changed to accommodate the refugees' religious and cultural needs. By allowing him and other refugees to work shifts around the classes at the GRC also shows how JBS is encouraging the refugees to integrate by learning English, receiving an education, and eventually becoming U.S. citizens.

This example emulates what Ager and Strange (2008) and other authors discuss about integration being a two-way street of change and acceptance, even if that change comes from walkouts, protests and negotiations. JBS changed its work culture and work place practices, or *habitus* (Bourdieu 1990) to accommodate the changing labor force needs. Hence, it is not only the refugees and immigrants who change and adapt their *habitus* to their new surroundings but so too does JBS and other employers have to change the *habitus* or assumptions, practices, and discourses of the work place environment to meet the needs of their changing labor force.

3.2 Work-related Injuries, Quitting JBS, and Structural Violence

One of the people currently working at JBS, a woman named Evelyn (interview with author, July 27, 2015) complained multiple times during class that she was beginning to have numbness and pain in her shoulders, neck, arms and hands due to the repetitive tasking motion required by the assembly line system of the meat packing plant. Her daughter (Sandra, interview with author, July 21, 2015) said this:

Marsh: Are your parents working?

Sandra: Yeah

Marsh: Do they like it?

Sandra: Um...for my mom, its too hard. My mom has pain in her shoulders... its very hard.

The three people that had worked for JBS for some time quit for different reasons. Ann (interview with author, July 13, 2015), a Tigrinya refugee from Eritrea, quit JBS because she needed to stay home and take care of her children. Her husband is currently employed at JBS. Maung Maung (interview with author July 12 and October 8, 2015), a Karen refugee from Burma, said that JBS's work schedule was not flexible enough for him to take his children to school but he was able to find another type of employment.

Marsh: So you work at JBS right? ... No [remembering he does not work for JBS]

Maung Maung: Before

Marsh: Yeah before, now you do not...how is looking for a job going?

Maung Maung: I'm confusing because my wife doesn't drive car so in Greeley, when I take... my kids go to school I have to take. I want to work but so...But nobody get my kids at the school right?

When I asked Maung Maung about other job opportunities he felt were available to him he did not quite understand my question but responded that he has previous work experience from JBS and is a hard worker, and that he will work any type of job. Maung Maung (interview with author July 12 and October 8, 2015) also hears about potential job openings from the staff at the GRC.

Marsh: Have you used the Global Refugee Center in helping you find jobs?

Maung Maung: Jobs, yes they tell me

Marsh: What to apply for or where to look?

Maung Maung: Um... They tell Greeley job... so you can find, Emily said you can find, you can find Greeley job, you can do and I will help. Emily says all the time [Emily Odiwuor, Education Director at GRC].

The third person that left JBS had to quit for work related injuries. Debretsion (interview with author, October 15, 2015), an immigrant from Ethiopia who is probably over 50, worked at JBS for two years. He suffered a wrist injury in his left wrist from the repetitive, physically tasking motion of cutting meat a particular way with a large knife. As he described it

Debretsion: My age it do me, because 60 pounds coming make turn like that [turned his hand to show me], me, the last place if good is bad if he one goes past, get problem. 40 pounds is coming. 60 pounds is coming. Turn like this, with my hook.

Debretsion's supervisor did not acknowledge his wrist injury and I gathered, but I am not completely certain, that he did not receive workman's compensation for the

injury. Debretsion did receive medical care and wrist surgery at Sunrise Community Health Clinic in Greeley. The outcome of the surgery was very good and Debretsion was very pleased with the care he received. I asked Debretsion (interview with author, October 15, 2015) if there are other jobs outside of JBS, he responded:

Marsh: So besides working at JBS, are there other jobs that are available for you?

Debretsion: At JBS?

Marsh: Are there any other jobs besides at JBS?

Debretsion: Outside? No, only JBS

While I was volunteering at the GRC this summer I heard of many cases of work related injuries of the refugee/immigrant employees working at JBS. My interview with West and Odiwuor (October 8, 2015) from the GRC informed me that they see some refugees having to quit JBS from work related injuries and that it is nearly impossible for the refugees to find employment else where in Greeley. This is not to say that JBS is solely to blame for the work related injuries. JBS is part of the global meat packing industry and has to implement the changed meat butchering and assembly line factory practices in order to remain competitive.

Debretsion had to quit working at JBS due to his wrist's work related injury. Thankfully he was provided a surgery that fixed his wrist, but he was still unable to work for JBS and therefore has remained chronically under employed (discussed below). The average work day at JBS consists of an eight-hour day with a 15-minute morning break and a half hour break for lunch. The work is tiring and is considered riskier than average work. Nationwide work related injury numbers for meatpacking laborers stated that in 2011 for every 100 workers 6.4 workers were injured or fell ill on the job (Murray 2013).

A Human Rights Watch report done in 2005 said that meatpacking jobs had the highest rate of injury and illness compared to other forms of manufacturing (Rab 2008).

Meatpacking at JBS is incredibly hard, labor-intensive work that manifests itself in the bodies of its workers via structural violence. Thus structural violence is perpetuated and embodied in the refugees and immigrants living in Greeley. Furthermore, because so few jobs are available to the refugees and immigrants in Greeley they are forced to work for JBS and the structural violence continues.

Despite the work related injury Debretsion (interview with author, October 15, 2015) endured from working at JBS, he was still immensely grateful and appreciative of JBS for employing him and hundreds of other refugees and immigrant living in Greeley.

Debretsion: Yeah, I say, my age go. They hired me for two years. They company is good. Maybe that person is no good [his supervisor that wouldn't help him] I never go to court for this company [sue]... I say thank you for your help... I am happy. They help many people. They help me for two years. I say thank you.... How many families [does JBS employ]? I say, I look that, not only me and my wife, how many families no speak English, no speak Spanish, nothing. They hire.

What makes Debretsion's gratitude toward JBS so compelling is better understood with some context on Debretsion's experience of trying to find a job in Greeley when he first arrived. During the first year he lived in Greeley, Debretsion applied to over 200 jobs and did not hear back from one. He blamed it on his age. He then found out about the East African Community Center (EACC) (now the GRC), and Asad Abdi who hired him to clean the office and do other tasks. After about three months

of doing this, and with help from West and Abdi, Debretsion was finally offered a job at JBS. He worked for JBS for two years but had to quit due to the repetitive work injury in his wrist, as discussed above (Debretsion, interview with author October 15, 2015).

Because Debretsion had such a difficult experience finding employment during his first year in Greeley, his gratitude toward JBS is easily understood, even after enduring injuries in his wrist and neglect from his supervisor. I think his gratitude, given the situation, shows how hard it is for the refugees to find adequate full-time work that pays well, has good health care benefits, and treats them decently. More importantly, I found Debretsion's gratitude toward JBS linked to how grateful he is to be living in the United States and in Greeley.

3.3 Under employment

Of the refugees and immigrants I interviewed that are no longer employed with JBS are now under employed either in terms of job skills or part-time versus full-time employment. Maung Maung (interview with author, July 12 and October 8, 2015) (quit JBS, reasons discussed above) found part time employment with Greeley School District Six as a translator.

Marsh: So your caught between taking your children to school and getting a job?

Maung Maung: Yeah, now I work with....district [School District Six] translator, Burmese, Karen, Thai.

Maung Maung makes \$17.55 an hour translating, but he does not receive health benefits. He found the job through a friend who told him there was an opening online for a School District Six translator. Before coming to the United States, Maung Maung

translated in Thailand for six years in a hospital. So while it is beneficial that he is employed in a job for which he has previous experience in, he is only employed part-time and does not receive health insurance. He does have health insurance through the county, but not Medicaid, so it is not clear what kind of insurance he has. Maung Maung, also had expressed to me that he would leave Greeley if better job opportunities presented themselves somewhere else (Maung Maung, interview with author, July 12 and October 8, 2015).

I spoke with Courtney Steiz (interview with author, October 20, 2015), a graduate student with Denver Seminary, who lives with her husband in the same apartment complex as the Karenni population in Evans, a small town bordering Greeley. Steiz expressed a similar sentiment when I asked her if the refugees find another job somewhere else would they leave. She responded:

Marsh: Do you think they will stay here or move on if better job pops up in Virgin, would they go?

Steiz: They're pretty transient and move around

Marsh: Within Greeley or the USA?

Steiz: The USA, you're working with a family and they'll say their moving to Minnesota or to Idaho and then they're gone. That's been happening less recently, as they buy home and become more permanent. I don't know the answer, I'm just speculating. Many seem pretty settled and JBS pays pretty well.

It is encouraging that the trend of the refugees leaving for work in other parts of the country is beginning to slow down. However, it seems this applies only for those who

find full-time employment at JBS. But if this is not an option, like for Maung Maung, moving for job opportunities is a necessary alternative.

After quitting JBS, Debretsion found other work, however, he is underemployed in both time and skill. Debretsion now works part-time, through the Senior Community Service Employment Program, for the GRC making copies for teachers and opening the classrooms. He also either is employed to or volunteers for coordinating traffic, parking and the waiting line for the Weld County Food Bank truck. Besides being only employed part-time, Debretsion is also heavily underemployed in skill and job qualifications. Debretsion told me this about his former work experiences (interview with author, October 15, 2015):

Marsh: Were there, was working for an American company something that was new?

Debretsion: I work in my country [Ethiopia], it was an American company.

Marsh: Oh it was?

Debretsion: Yeah, I work for two company. Two American company. In Ethiopia...make airport. Global international. The general manager Mr. Graham. I work up to start and finish the construction, I work with them. When they finish they make transfer to oil company named Texaco.

Debretsion also worked as a mechanic during his time in Saudi Arabia. He said that he understands American work norms, and other forms of machinery and construction from working with these two companies and from his time in Saudi Arabia. At the end of the interview, Debretsion actually asked me to help him find a full-time

position and he said he is willing to do any type of work, even cleaning (interview with author, October 15, 2015).

Evelyn (interview with author, July 27, 2015) said that her husband used to be a nurse in the prison system in Cameroon, but was only able to get an underpaying job at Walgreens.

Marsh: So your husband has a background in medicine in Cameroon?

Evelyn: Yes, he was a doctor, a nurse in the prison department. He was a prison guard and a nurse in the prison department. So he was treating when the prisoners had sick. He is the one who transfer to doctor, to transfer you to the transfusion.

He eventually got a job at JBS and took the position because it paid better than Walgreens. Luckily her husband is now employed by JBS, he is still underemployed in terms of job skills and training. If his previous work experience was acknowledged in the USA and if relevant job training was made available to him, he might be able to use his previous skills to find a job working in the medical field. Unfortunately, the previous work experience is not recognized and there is very little access to this kind of job training especially compounded with limited English language skills (Evelyn, interview with author, July 27, 2015).

While these jobs held by Maung Maung, Debretsion, and the other refugees are at least something, they are not in line with many of their original forms of work and some are not full-time. Racial discrimination as well as a lack of acknowledgment of previous work experience are apparent in both Debretsion's, Maung Maung's, and Evelyn's husband's employment situations.

Seth Holmes writes in his book *Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies*, of racial and nationality discrimination occurring in berry farms throughout California, Washington and Oregon. He discusses that the labor hierarchy and job acquisition is directly affected by a person's nationality, ethnicity, race and language (2013:45-85).

A similar situation is revealed in Greeley through my interviews with the refugee/immigrant key informants. Because they are ethnically, racially, and linguistically different from the general host community it puts them at the lower end of the job labor market even though they may have skills and abilities that should place them in higher skilled jobs. What differs from Holmes findings and the findings in Greeley is that nationality has little to do with job placement, at least in the short-term. Even though both Debretsion and Maung Maung are recent naturalized U.S.A. citizens (Debretsion interview with author October 15, 2015; Maung Maung, interview with author, July 12 and October 8, 2015), they still have difficulty finding work. A future research question would be how does acquiring U.S.A. citizenship affect long-term employment of refugees and immigrants living in Greeley?

My interviews with the refugees and immigrant key-informants, and with both Debretsion and Maung Maung, tell of people who desperately want work and are willing to do any job, even jobs that are below their level of skill. Some of them are only employed part-time and for financial and self-reliance reasons need more work. What is also found from interviews is that job availability in Greeley is very finite beyond JBS. Maung Maung, had expressed to me that he would leave Greeley if better job opportunities presented themselves somewhere else. If he left it would undermine a sense

of continuity for him and his family and also damage their social relationships developed in Greeley.

Steiz (interview with author, October 20, 2015) works part time for Christ Community leading the Christ Community International Church that provides a building, services and ministry help for three distinctly diverse congregations that meet separately at Zoe's Coffee Shop, a coffee shop owned and operated by Christ Community. Steiz is a helpful neighbor and friend to the Karenni that live in her neighborhood. She helps them with doctors visits, navigating the social service programs, and mediating their problems within the context of Greeley (more on this in Findings: Social Bonds and Social Bridges). She expressed that there are few job options outside of JBS for people who have limited job and English language skills (interview with author, October 20, 2015).

Steiz: JBS pays well, so I don't know if you are going to find a better paying job if you don't speak English and don't have any education.

You'd be hard pressed to find a job that pays better. Few express wanting to work anywhere else, though not that they wouldn't like to do something else, the teenagers ask for help to find jobs while the adults do not. Most of them came to work at JBS. I haven't seen it as much with the parents as I have with the teens. I've heard stories and I don't think any of them love it.

Similarly, during my interview with Colette West, Director of Services and Emily Odiwuor, Program Coordinator both for the GRC (interview with author, October 8, 2015), expressed similar sentiment as Steiz in regards to the overall job market for the

refugees and immigrants in Greeley. They described the job market as very limited beyond JBS and a few other employers.

West: Um still the job market is not good for the refugee population because they either have to have a high school diploma or a some of college and a lot of our folks don't have that. So JBS still remains one of the places you can work without a diploma or a language, you don't have to speak English out there. So, that is not a glamorous job as you know...And for what it is its what we have for now. There are other places that are allowing folks to come and work for them like the school district and Otter box, Xerox, and Teletech if they can do those skills, um and bakeries. But it's still pretty thin on the job market.

Employment options outside of JBS in Greeley are slim. Debreption and Maung Maung are both underemployed and the short-term affects of this are financial strain and overall stress. Both are unable, due to time constraints or physical ailments, to work for JBS thus greatly hindering fulltime jobs positions available to them. The long-term effects of this have yet to be seen and will require future research. However, potentially the chronic underemployment will undermine their sense of self-reliance, independence, wellbeing, job and language acquisition and wage increases. But for the refugees and immigrants employed at JBS they are finding the path much easier to their successful integration.

3.4 Refugee and Immigrant Owned Businesses

Asad Abdi is not the only refugee in Greeley who saved enough money from working at JBS to eventually start his own enterprise. Other refugees have done this as well and their efforts and businesses are changing the urban landscape and aspects of Greeley's economy as well (See Findings: Place and Greeley's Urban Landscape). An Ethiopian refugee named Abdiwali Amaan came to Greeley in 2006 in response to the large starting bonus offered by JBS. He quit in 2009 to start the African Market in Greeley. He and his wife hope to expand their business options and eventually buy a house (Murray 2013).

Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to interview any of the refugee and immigrant business owners in Greeley, but I have interviewed Abdi in the past for courses taken at UNC. Abdi was unable to meet with me during our scheduled interview time, and Emily Odiwuor offered to be interviewed in his place. I did talk with my local Greeley key informants about the refugee and immigrant owned businesses in Greeley. I understood from them that many of the business owners were once employees at JBS. They also said they felt the business were successful and were helpful in opening the door between the refugee/immigrant community and the rest of Greeley by providing a platform to interact and share culture, food, and goods. Odiwuor felt that the refugee business located in downtown Greeley have economically benefited Greeley because they occupy commercial space that has long been vacant. Hence, the refugees and immigrants not only provide themselves with a more diversified job market and economic opportunities but they also are aiding in rebuilding downtrodden parts of the city (West and Odiwuor, interview with author, October 8, 2015).

Marsh: How do you think the local...refugee/migrant business and restaurants have affected overall Greeley and its landscape?

West: At first people were scared "I'm not eating that!" And now they've come to the realization that it's good, and it's ok, and they are people too and they need the support.

Odiwuor: And honestly, there has kind of been an ebb and flow in downtown businesses, right? But now I've seen a lot less empty spots, because at least three are occupied by our refugee/immigrant business owners, four including some Ethiopian business owners even further downtown on 8th Ave and 13th Street. And the same in that area with our Asian stores, Asian owners, close to the ARC and the mall [23rd Avenue and US 34]. A lot of the businesses would have just been empty vacant buildings and now they are filled and they are vibrant and exciting and they've got great food.

Of the seven local Greeley key informants with whom I spoke, all have at least visited a refugee or immigrant owned business once or frequent them often. I asked if they felt the refugee and immigrant owned businesses were being frequented by other local Greeley community members and many felt that yes, some Greeley people, especially those who care for the refugee and immigrant community, try hard to support these small businesses. And if certain segments of the local population knew what services were offered by the refugee and immigrant stores, the stores would receive much more business.

Marsh: Do you know native Greeley people at the stores in restaurants?

Steiz: ... I think there are people who are committed to refugee community and eat at Najah and Spicy Thai and invest in those businesses. One of those Somali stores over on 23rd and 16th Ave, does henna, if college girls knew they were here they would all be coming.

West and Odiwuor (interview with author, October 8, 2015) see that local Greeley people try and frequent the refugee and immigrant restaurants, branching out to try new foods and support these businesses.

Marsh: When you guys go, I assume you guys go to the restaurants, when you go to you see regular Greeley people there eating, beginning to branch out and try stuff?

West and Odiwuor both: Uh-hun

Odiwuor: I use to talk to co-workers all the time at the city who say “Oh, yeah! We just went to that Somali restaurant for lunch that day.” I am like oh! I haven’t even been there. I think there are a lot of people who enjoy Asian food and visit a lot of those places. And things like Sushi 1 or Thai 1 [Pho], we don’t even know, but refugee [and immigrant] business owners own them.

During my cross section drive of Greeley, I stopped at a few of the refugee owned stores and had lunch at Najah African Restaurant (Somali owned) located a block from the current location of the GRC. Before I entered Najah, I found myself to be very nervous. I wore a long skirt and a sleeved shirt in preparation for entering a Somali, and therefore presumably, Muslim establishment. Nonetheless, I was severely aware of me being a single female and did not want to come across as rude entering this establishment

not accompanied by a male. I entered Najah, to find myself as the only customer in the small restaurant. Two young men, I assume to be Somali, sat at different tables watching CNN on the TV overhead. I gathered they were there to help the tall Somali woman who took my order run the restaurant. They said hello to me, were polite, and did not inquire after me. I felt my anxiety quickly subside. Within a short amount of time, my chicken dish with rice and a lettuce salad arrived. I also ordered a sweet Chai tea that was reminiscent of my time outside Nairobi. The food was inexpensive, generous in size and delicious. While I was waiting for my food I overheard a conversation occurring among a Hispanic father, his two children, and his mother. He was describing the different types of food to them and also some basic cultural aspects he knows about Somalis. His children consisted of a girl about 14 years of age and a boy of around 11. They were respectful and interested in this foreign establishment and its people and, to my delighted surprise, greatly enjoyed and celebrated the food.

Trinity Plaza, which use to be located on 9th Ave and 11th street, housed the Somali mall, as it has been described to me. It is no longer there because the landlord sold the property to the City of Greeley. The City was in the process of tearing it down this summer and building a parking lot so I did not have the opportunity to visit the stores inside. One local Greeley key informant, Bob Smith¹ (interview with author, July 20, 2015), spoke of his experience visiting the refugee and immigrant owned stores:

Marsh: Ok, do you know about the east African and Burmese restaurants and markets in town? Do you go to them?...

¹ Bob Smith is a pseudonym

Bob: So I haven't been to the Burmese. But I've been the Najah once or twice. Um and then I've been to the east African market a couple of times, I went and bought camel's milk... There's a new one [refugee owned store] a few doors down here, because of the mall got shut down, the Somali mall...it was in Trinity Plaza

Marsh: Oh that's gone?

Bob: I think, this is how the story goes, this is all third hand, the fellow who owned it sold it to the city and the city is going to use it for parking or something. I think the city bought a bunch of property

Marsh: So the owners of the stores rented the space and the space owner...

Bob: The trinity plaza, right the landlord sold, so I've been told, they've all dispersed essentially. What was really a concentrated place that's where they had their, they had their madrasa there, I'm not sure where the madrasa is. And several stores, um... a fellow Abdi Rashid had his accounting office down there and he moved it six months ago or so and now he's gone and ...he moved to Minnesota in May, all of his sisters are there, and one of them [the former stores in the Somali Mall] moved here pointing a few doors down from where our interview took place].

Marsh: Yeah, I saw a few women walk in there earlier.

Bob: The one I've been into is on 8th Ave and 10th or 11th streets.

It is unfortunate that the Somali Mall's business owners had to relocate their businesses, and that it even led to some of the owners leaving town. The Somali Mall was clearly very beneficial in that it provided a gathering place for cultural practices,

exchanges, and interactions to occur. The loss of the Somali Mall shows, however, how resilient the refugee and immigrant communities are within Greeley because many of the stores relocated to other parts of the city. I did visit the store that was a few doors down from where I interviewed Smith. It is called Samafale Halaal Store: Henna Somali and Sudan Designs. This is the store Steiz was referring to that offers henna. The shopping center in which this store resides is a nice area with legal and optometrist offices, a quilting store, a nice coffee shop, Walgreens and a large bank. It occupies what was once a vacant shop, in a similar manner as described by Odiwuor, and fits right in with its surroundings. The store carries various styles and colors of headscarves, bed comforters, various unique spices, honey, foreign cosmetic products, and other products not typically offered in any American chain store. The smell of the store along with the layout and types of products offered reminded me of markets I shopped in Nairobi, Kenya and Mzuzu, Malawi.

These refugee and immigrant run stores fill important needs of the refugees and immigrant cultural needs in terms of certain spices and various goods. The Burmese and Asian stores, which I visited as well, have very unique groceries, fresh vegetables, frozen fish and meat products. Other products were present that I did not recognize and would not be found anywhere but at these small stores. Many of refugee and immigrant key informants clearly stated that food, especially, was important for a sense of home, comfort and familiarity. But without the places to buy such unique spices and ingredients, fulfilling this need would be very challenging or even impossible.

Refugee owned businesses, such as exemplified by the now gone Somali Mall, are an effective avenue through which self-integration and agency occurs. I met with two

employees of Weld County for an interview; Karin Crandall is the Community Outreach Coordinator and Art Barker is the Program Integrity Manager for the Department of Human Services of Weld County (interview with author, July 20, 2015). They felt that the refugees and immigrant owned business greatly added to successful integration:

Marsh: Are there issues or efforts within this community [Greeley/Weld County] to help the refugees feel more at home and welcomed?

Crandall: The issues have started being addressed, or are being addressed. They [refugees and immigrants] have their own restaurants and clothing stores in Trinity Plaza, which is cool. They took this office space and they can get their taxes done, there are grocery stores, you can get your hair done, and there is even a prayer room. They have been creative in creating their own shopping mall in an office space. That's what it takes for them to be responsible for themselves. It is not going to be the receiving community who will open these stores for them, it is up to them to be successful and it is up to them to open stores...When they integrate themselves into the community, it's more meaningful.

The refugee and immigrant owned business serve not only the needs of these communities, but they also serve to teach the local Greeley community about their diverse cuisines, cultures, and practices. These businesses establish the refugees as part of the community by serving as economic participants, partners, and stewards. They also exhibit the refugee and immigrant agency by facilitating their integration in a way that means something to them. They are creating their own lives, building their own businesses, providing culturally relevant and needed goods, and also modifying Greeley's

urban landscape with the business store fronts exemplifying how they are meeting their needs and wants.

My research through observations and interviews reveals that employment at JBS is a crucial component for successful integration because it provides the means by which the refugees and immigrants can support themselves and their families. Employment provides for self-independence, financial and social security, and overall wellbeing. Encouragingly, JBS had modified its work place environment and schedule to the cultural and religious needs of changing labor force. However, issues of underemployment and work place injury threaten and plaque the refugee and immigrant community members in Greeley due to the type of work at JBS and little job opportunity outside of the meat packing plant. Due to the racial, cultural, and linguistic hierarchy imposed on them, it places them in low skilled and low paid jobs. Some refugees and immigrants have established their own businesses fulfill cultural needs of their community, provide employment opportunities beyond JBS, and establish and mark a place for the refugees and immigrants in Greeley's urban landscape. These small businesses provide a needed gateway to expose the local Greeley community to the cultural diversity of the refugees and immigrants and to reveal how these new members benefit and give back to the larger community.

Chapter Four

Findings: Housing, Home, Safety and Language

4. Housing, Home, Safety and Language: Are they staying or leaving?

A sense of home, and adequate housing, is paramount for successful integration of refugees and immigrants. But home is more than just a physical structure, it is the place that people feel comfortable, safe, and develop a sense of belonging. Home is more of a continual process of creating the space into home through cultural practices, activities, languages, and social relationships. Home is a place for the refugees and immigrants to speak their ‘mother language’ with ease because they are with others that are similar to them and who speak the same languages. Adequate housing allows for home to be created. If the housing is in poor condition, hard to find, expensive, or in an unsafe neighborhood, a sense of home and the communities that form through it is very hard to create or maintain.

In this section, I discuss the results of my key informant interview survey guide along with some follow up interview data regarding the refugees’ and immigrants’ feelings toward sense of home. I explore how they construct it in basic terms and how it effects their general feeling of comfort in Greeley and their desire to remain in this small city. Then the question becomes whether the refugee and immigrant communities will stay permanently or move on, which I will discuss last. This question is paramount in that

there seems to be a general belief among the Greeley community that the refugees, especially, and the immigrants less so, are not permanent members of society and therefore have been treated as such by the large community. I address this issue to some degree to highlight the need to accept the refugees and immigrants as permanent members of society.

4.1 Home, Safety and Language, Original Cultural Practices

One theme that is lacking from Ager and Strang's (2008) ten domains of integration is a domain dealing with cultural phenomena and how they relate to and contribute to the integration of refugees and immigrants in a host site. A common theme that appeared throughout all of my refugee and immigrant key informant interviews is original cultural practices and how these support the creation of sense of home. As mentioned in the Literature Review, home is a cultural construction (Tuan 1977; Dam and Eyles 2012; Wise 2000), and I included basic cultural practices in my key informant home interview guide (discussed below) as they potentially relate to home. I did this based on place theory and theoretical constructions of home to see if home is a physical place for cultural practices to occur, take place, and resonate. Therefore, I included aspects of culture such as language, cooking and food, and other cultural activities to see if these related to a 'sense of home'. I hoped in this way to allow the refugees to define (though in a simplistic way) for them what 'sense of home', or 'home' means to them by answering yes, no, or providing additional answers to these sentences. The reason I decided to use a simple guide was because when I asked them during the semi-structured part of the interview what home means to them, or what they need to feel at home, it was

too difficult for them to understand what I meant or to describe it for me due to their limited English skills. I found it much easier for them to be able to read sentences describing home and to see if they related to each sentence by simply answering yes, no or providing their own answer.

Considering the heterogeneity of my refugee and immigrant key informant sample (and population), my interview guide provides an avenue of comparable usable data, in very basic terms of 'home'. This is beneficial to get a beginning understanding of a general sense of home in Greeley for the refugees and immigrants living in this city. Other benefits of doing it this way is that I have some starting data and understanding of key components of a 'sense of home', and whether my key informants even feel at home, at a basic level, and are comfortable in Greeley. However, I fully recognize the limitations of the guide in that it may not have considered certain components of feeling a 'sense of home' for my key informants and it may over simplify aspects of 'sense of home.' To mitigate these limitations, I asked follow up questions from the way certain sentences were answered which gave more insight into what a sense of home is, means, and needs to be instilled. This is discussed below. Further research is needed to provide a more encapsulating definition of 'home' for refugees from various cultural backgrounds.

Provided below are the results from my key informant interview guide. Under the heading Alternative Answers/No Answer Provided was intended to be a place for them to write down certain things that brought a sense of home or to provided additional answer options to the sentences. These answers are written in next to the correlating sentence. The "No Answer Provided" means that certain informants did not provide a yes, no, or an alternative answer.

TABLE 1.1

Results of Key Informant Home Interview Guide	Yes	No	Alternative Answers/ No Answer Provided
1. I am a refugee	6	4	
2. I miss my home country	10	0	
3. I feel at home and comfortable in Greeley	9		Answer "I like": 1
4. I hope to return to live in my home country.	3	6	No Answer Provided: 1
5. I want to live in Greeley.	7	1	Answer "Maybe" : 2
6. I have friends in Greeley	10	0	
7. My friends are from my home country	9	1	
8. My friends are from other countries.	7	2	No Answer Provided: 1
9. I eat foods that make me feel at home.	10		

10. I wear clothing like what I wore in my home country.	8	1	No Answer Provided: 1
11. I participate in my culture's activities like cooking, dances, singing, and worship that remind me of home.	7	2	No Answer Provided: 1
12. I feel comfortable in certain places in Greeley.	9		No Answer Provided: 1
13. Learning English is helping me feel at home in Greeley.	10		
14. Speaking my language makes me feel at home.	10		

Some important distinctions need to be made about this data. First, I did not perform this guide with one of my key informants due to time constraints, so that individual is not included in this data set, but his/her semi-structured interview information will contribute to the discussion of sense of home, safety, language and original cultural practices. Secondly, not every person I interviewed is a refugee and I was not always certain who was or was not. I included sentence 1 “I am a refugee” to allow for self-identification of refugee (or not) which led to follow up questions

regarding immigrant or U.S.A. citizen status. The refugees represent Myanmar (Burma) and Eritrea. Of the four key informants that answered no to this question, two were from Cameroon, one is from Guatemala, and one is from Mexico.

While engaging with my key informants during the interviews and while filling out this guide, I was very encouraged given how many of them feel relatively safe and comfortable in Greeley. I also found it interesting that for every person who answered yes to sentence 2 “I miss my home country”, nearly everyone also answered yes to sentence 3 “I feel at home and comfortable in Greeley.” I think this shows that the essentialist view of seeing refugees as displaced and without home due to the loss of their homeland is inaccurate because every key informant misses their homelands but at the same time finds home, safety, and comfort in their new host communities.

Of the three people who answered yes to sentence four “I hope to return to my home country” only one is a refugee, the other two are immigrants. This one refugee, Abel² (interview with author, August 19, 2015), a young man from Eritrea, told me that while he wanted to return home it would be in a long time. I gathered from other Eritrean refugees I interviewed that returning to Eritrea currently is dangerous given to the political situation. Those who left “illegally” would be thrown into prison if they returned to the country (Abel, interview with author August 19, 2015; Ann, interview with author, July 13, 2015). The other two people who answered yes to this are immigrants. A mother, Evelyn (interview with author, July 27, 2015), and daughter, Sandra (interview with author, July 21, 2015), from Cameroon moved to the U.S.A. with their family and had only arrived a few months prior to the interview. I gathered from listening to them that

² Abel is a pseudonym

they were very home sick and longing for their friends, countryman, and culture in Cameroon.

Sandra (interview with author, July 21, 2015) said that she wants to return back to Cameroon but that it will take a long time before she can because she wants/needs to get a high school education before she goes back. Sandra and her mother Evelyn, were the two key informants that answered maybe to sentence five “I want to live in Greeley.” They answered maybe to this sentence because on the one hand they liked the quiet, nice, calm atmosphere of Greeley but felt lonely or potentially isolated because no other Cameroonians live in Greeley (Sandra, interview with author, July 21, 2015; Evelyn, interview with author, July 27, 2015) (discussed further in Findings: Social Bonds and Social Bridges).

4.2 Home and family

Home is a physical place in which people feel comfortable, safe, and have a sense of belonging. Home also includes these similar feelings as it applies to the larger area around the house, including the neighborhood and general city. A sense of home is strongly linked to having immediate family or fellow countrymen and women living together in the same apartment or in the same neighborhood or city. If some component of this is missing, sense of home is greatly hampered.

This is what Sandra said when I asked her if she missed her home country (interview with author, July 21, 2015):

Sandra: Yeah, I would too. I miss a *lot* of people, my friends, my son.

Sandra's son is only four years old and the look on her face when she said this was of longing, anguish, and heartache. Per my IRB approval, I was not allowed to ask questions regarding my key informants' experiences prior to coming to the United States. Therefore, I did not inquire as to why her son did not come with her to the U.S. When I asked her if she feels at home in Greeley she answered:

Sandra: Yeah, I feel at home here because I have my brother here, my sister, and my mom my dad. Yeah, they are here and they are home for me.

Ager and Strang (2008) discuss that during their research they found a theme of home not necessarily being the physical constructed building but of consisting most of social relationships such as family and friends. Even though Sandra greatly missed her home country, her friends and her son in Cameroon, she still has a sense of home in Greeley because her immediate family surrounds her. Sandra (interview with author, July 21, 2015) did say that the apartment her family shares is small and that the manager of the complex does not attend to issues or problems with the apartment.

Of the married refugees and immigrants I interviewed they all lived with their wives or husbands and children. Maung Maung lives with his wife and three children in a small apartment (interview with author, July 12 and October 8, 2015). Debrezion (interview with author, October 15, 2015), lives with his wife. Kyaw Aung (interview with author, August 4, 2015), an ethnic Burmese man from Myanmar, lives with his wife and young children. Ann (interview with author, July 13, 2015), an Eritrean woman, lives with her husband and two children. Evelyn (interview with author, July 27, 2015) lives with her husband and children, including Sandra. All of these key informants felt at home in Greeley and, for the most part, liked the places in which they lived. Besides Sandra's

dislike for the irresponsible apartment manager, Maung Maung did express he felt his apartment was too small for his family of five (interview with author, July 12 and October 8, 2015).

Of the refugees and immigrants I interviewed who were single, had no progeny of their own, and whose immediate families were still in their country of origin, all lived with at least one other person of the same sex who shared the same ethnic background. Sona (interview with author, August 4, 2014), an ethnically Rohingya man from Burma, lived with another young Rohingya man who also worked at JBS. Abel, a young man from Eritrea, lived with another man from Eritrea who also worked at JBS. His explanation of why he lives with a fellow Tigrinya man (his ethnic group) underscores the reason why refugees and immigrants live with people of same ethnic backgrounds.

Marsh: Is your roommate from Greeley or...?

Abel: No he is from Eritrea

Marsh: Ok...

Abel: You know, most the people live each other, together, from one country because they do not know other people, other culture, same food different, you know. You don't need to smile, something like that, every one they meet they are with their own, you know?

Abel (interview with author, August 19, 2015) describes how living with people similar to himself is comforting and easy because he already knows how to act, what to eat, and what to expect from his ethnically similar roommate.

Although this group felt relatively comfortable at home, they spoke more about their families who lived abroad and wanting to see their families again. For both of these

young men it is nearly impossible and extremely dangerous for them to go back to their countries of origin. Abel had specific concerns regarding his siblings. His youngest brother applied for asylum in Denmark and was rejected. He is only seventeen and is alone. Abel's next brother is applying for asylum in Israel but is caught up in the Israeli backlash against the influx of African refugees. Abel looked very worried and at a lost in regards to his brothers' uncertain situations abroad. His parents still live in Eritrea. I think not having his family and the uncertainty of his brothers' futures greatly negatively impacts his own experience of integration (Abel, interview with author August 19, 2015; Sona, interview with author, August 4, 2015). I will discuss his experience below and in the Findings: Social Bonds and Social Bridges chapter.

4.3 Safety and feeling safe in Greeley

Safety and feeling safe is imperative for overall integration in that any real or perceived threat aimed at the refugees or immigrants will undermine their attempts at integrating. By safety, I mean that they feel comfortable to walk around on the streets without being harassed, threatened, or attacked, and can also feel safe in their homes. All of my refugee or immigrant key informants told me they felt generally safe in Greeley and liked how quiet the city is, especially when compared to Denver. Most of my key informants particularly used the word 'quiet' to describe why they like the city and why they feel safe and comfortable. I was not expecting the lack of noise to be a major contributor as to why Greeley is enjoyed by the refugees and immigrants.

Many of the refugees and immigrants have lived in other areas of the United States or other parts of the world, and when comparing their experiences elsewhere to

Greeley, they feel safe and at home. In addition, becoming a citizen of the United States also adds to an overall sense of safety and even security.

Abel wants to live in Greeley because he has friends in the city. He said he feels safe and at home in Greeley especially when he compares his experiences to other places he has lived:

Abel: I want to live in Greeley, still yeah...I have friends in Greeley... If I compare when I was in Libya, Sudan, or Tunisia, it is better in American.

The Arab countries, I remember when I was in Libya to go to buy something and to go back to at home was very difficult. Somebody who gets you like that maybe like nine or ten [o'clock at night] they ask for you by the knife they ask you for some money, you know?

Marsh: They steal from you in Libya?

Abel: Yeah, they about the same, when I see this problem compare with America I feel I am at home, you know?

Abel was not the only refugee or immigrant to say that they felt safe in Greeley when comparing experiences to other places he has lived (Abel, interview with author, August 19, 2015). Carlos, an immigrant from Mexico who has lived in various parts of the U.S.A. for work, said this about his experience of safety in Greeley:

Marsh: Anything particular you like about Greeley?

Carlos: Even my wife's family is here, and now I am working. And here my kids are going to school. I like it. It's not too big, you can move wherever you want, no traffic. I like it. And yeah I don't have too many problems with people. How do you say it when people stole...?

Marsh: So a person who steals is a thief

Carlos: I lived in North Carolina for... yeah, for like two years ago, I went to work in North Carolina for two or three months and the apartment, someone entered into the apartment and thieved [stole]

Marsh: So you haven't had anyone steal from you in Greeley?

Carlos: For now

While Carlos answer of "For now" show some reluctance to let his guard down, he did express that Greeley is a safe city and he enjoys that, as well as the education for his children, his job, and Greeley's lack of congested traffic (Carlos, interview with author, July 21, 2015).

Maung Maung (interview with author, July 12 and October 8, 2015) expressed he receives better treatment by local Greeley people in comparisons to his country of origin and other countries he has lived.

Marsh: ...All in all how do you feel the US and Americans have treated you?

Maung Maung: Good

Marsh: Any examples or experiences of something good that comes to mind?

Maung Maung: Uh... good because you, you can eat anything, you can buy anything anywhere, so in my old country when you have money some stores doesn't have money they hate...

Marsh: They hate, so they wont help you?

Maung Maung: No

Marsh: So here they help you?

Maung Maung: Yeah

When compared to other places the refugees and immigrants have lived, Greeley feels safe and secure. I also want to point out that Greeley does not only feel safe when compared to other places because my other key informants generally expressed that Greeley is safe for them.

Maung Maung became a naturalized citizen during my field work in Greeley. His naturalization ceremony was held in Denver and I went to the courthouse to support him. But somehow the date of the ceremony was mixed up and I missed the ceremony. Mary, the ESL level four teacher, drove to Denver to see Maung Maung's ceremony with other students from the class and she said he looked very proud and happy during the naturalization ceremony. Maung Maung told me during our interview following the ceremony that becoming a U.S.A. citizen gives him a sense of safety:

Marsh: How do you feel about being a citizen of the United States?

Maung Maung: It's a good idea...because...U.S. Citizen has many uh like many country like U.S. citizen. Yes, I think safe.

Marsh: Are you glad about being a U.S.A. Citizen?

Maung Maung: Yes, because my old citizenship [of Burma] doesn't cover anything

Maung Maung said that his U.S.A. citizenship is recognized all over the world and gives him protection by the U.S.A. government. His citizenship helps him feel more secure and safe even within Greeley, which is very important for integrating. This portion of interview from Maung Maung reveals the degradation that occurs when a government

persecutes its citizens, and how having U.S.A. citizenship gives almost worldwide protection by the U.S.A. government thus providing a sense of safety to him (Maung Maung, interview with author, July 12 and October 8, 2015). During my interview with Courtney Steiz she discussed a similar idea, but elaborated further on how the oppression by governments' on their citizens manifests in the refugees' self-perceptions in relation to their receiving community. While they feel safe in Greeley and are not being harassed, their previous experiences of oppression actually make them feel they have nothing to offer the receiving community (Steiz, interview with author, October 20, 2015).

Marsh: In general, what is your feel on how refugees feel in Greeley?

Steiz: They feel safe, or safer than they did.

Marsh: They are not going to be harassed?

Steiz: Sort of, they are glad they are not being killed by their government, they feel at home in terms of community here, but in terms of feeling like an integral part of Greeley probably not.

Marsh: Do you think they want to?

Steiz: Are you familiar with [Paulo Freire], he wrote book the [*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*]. Some of the refugees I speak with have very low internal concept, and are not sure of what they have to offer to the community. I think that both the older and younger generations have something to offer the greater Greeley community. I think the older generation is not as quick to see all that they have to offer, though they are getting there. I think in the youth, you see a desire to help and not only in their own ethnic group but the entire community as well.

When I talk to teens, I hear so many of them saying they want to be doctors, nurses or teachers so that they can help people.

Marsh: What do you mean by self concept?

Steiz: They feel they aren't worth much, or have nothing to offer or feeling of being stupid...I don't think that's true [of them], I think they can offer much to the community but they don't know that or see that in themselves.

Considering the refugees' potential for a 'low internal concept' brought on by the persecution they received in their countries of origin, I emphasize the importance and need for them to feel safe, secure, and protected in the United States and Greeley in order to have some sense of normalcy to enable them further rebuilding their lives.

For ethnic groups formally persecuted by their own government, living in the United States provides a great sense of protection, safety and home. This is also true when they compare their experiences of living in other parts of the United States or other countries in that they feel safe and at home in Greeley. These findings were very encouraging and it highlights that Greeley is providing them with a safe place to call home.

4.4 Original Cultural Practices and Sense of Home

Home is not only just a physical place but a place where people can live, experience, and produce cultural practices, foods, and customs. It is a place in which, for refugees and immigrants, they can remember, feel, and express their ethnic identities

through food, dance, singing, and being in community with others of similar ethnic backgrounds.

Sona (interview with author, August 4, 2015), a young man from Burma who works at JBS, likes Greeley and likes living in the city because he is able to do ‘everything’ there. He is happy in Greeley because he has a job, English language education, and is free to do whatever he wants. He said this:

Marsh: What do you like about living here?

Sona: I like living here, I taking, I taking the English class, I go to work, I live to live here

Marsh: Do you miss the culture, or the food, the way of life?

Sona: No, I have everything here... I make the food here. The culture is the same because I can everything the same here

Marsh: Does it make it easier to live here that you can do your culture, that you can do your culture here?

Sona: Yeah, the U.S.A. is freedom you can do anything. No problem.

Marsh: How has your experience been living in Greeley?

Sona: It’s good...because I am very happy, I am very happy because I attending English class, I go to the work, and I have the bank, I have to study from 10 to 1 for class, then I go to work...

Original cultural practices play a major role in creating a sense of home for the refugees and immigrants living in Greeley. Most of them prepare and eat food in the cultural style of their countries of origin. Most do not eat out at restaurants, unless they are ethnically similar restaurants, such as the few East African restaurants in Greeley, or

Burmese, Guatemalan, or Ethiopian restaurants in Denver. Only one key informant, Maung Maung (interview with author, July 12, and October 8, 2015), prepares American styled food, such as cookies, French fries and pizza, in his home but he does so for his children. Margarito (interview with author, July 28, 2015), an immigrant who has lived in Greeley for over 20 years and is a recent naturalized U.S.A. citizen, told me that his wife cooks Guatemalan food at home. Sandra (interview with author, July 21, 2015) said this in regards to smelling Cameroonian food made at home:

Marsh: So when you and your mom cook Cameroonian food, do the smells...?

Sandra: Yeah! [she smiles, her face lights up] it smells so good!

Marsh: Does it remind you of home?

Sandra: Yeah, my dad loves it, it smells so good!

Cooking ethnic food brings together the family and even the smell creates feelings of home, identity and belonging within a new house.

In certain ways the refugees and immigrants can recreate home by cooking certain foods and participating in other cultural practices. However, sometimes the opportunities to do such things are not available or possible in Greeley. During my observations of the ESL level 4 class at the GRC, I discovered that Evelyn has a love for singing gospel hymns. She would often start singing if something celebratory happened for a member of the class. She loves to sing and dance, especially at church. However, her church in Greeley (and none others to my knowledge) does not dance while they sing during church service. I found that not having a group of people with which to sing and dance was very hard on Evelyn because it was something she loved to do with others (Evelyn, interview with author, July 27, 2015).

Evelyn: Yes. "I participate in my cultures activities like cooking, dancing, singing, and worship what reminds me of home." [reading the interview survey out loud]

Marsh: Do you understand participate?

Evelyn: Yes

Marsh: In my culture, so Cameroonian culture?

Evelyn: Yes

Marsh: Cooking?

Evelyn: Yes

Marsh: Dancing?

Evelyn: No

Marsh: You don't dance?

Evelyn: With living here that's the problem, in Maryland we always have a district festival every year, I can not go because it's to far for me... Yeah, festival, this year there were festival in a, in a, Atlanta... Georgia, everyone was there from Cameroon everyone comes for the festival. I was not there. Last year also, they make it the two years and I was not there also.

Marsh: In Atlanta there is a festival where you can dance?

Evelyn: They make cultural dances down there, they makes Cameroonian food, and that one was only my village. They contribute money for project, sold many things, projects for light, project for road, project for... we always make project to help our country for so many things, because....

Marsh: And in Greeley, no dancing?

Evelyn: Nothing. You go to church and here have singing. In church here, they don't dance they don't sing. But in my country, we sing, clap and dancing and drummer...

Marsh: Singing, I know you love to do that. Is there anywhere to do that in Greeley?

Evelyn: No.

Singing, dancing, and drumming during church and other cultural festival times are important for Evelyn because she loves doing those things. While cooking with and for her family creates a sense of home, as Sandra described, other cultural practices are missing in Greeley and creates a real void in terms of cultural norms, practices and more importantly community and identity.

For Abel (interview with author, August 19, 2015), attending Catholic mass is comforting because the layout of mass in Greeley is the same as in Eritrea. He says he understands the sermon to some degree because the format is the same, but he has had issues with not understanding what the priest was saying and had an embarrassing moment where he stood when he was not suppose to and everyone looked at him. Fortunately, he finds the embarrassing situation funny. He also said the Catholic mass service format makes him comfortable and reminds him of home in Eritrea.

Marsh: Is it Saint Peters, the Catholic Church?

Abel: It's Catholic, yeah...

Marsh: Is the Catholic mass similar to the Eritrean...? ...

Abel: It is the same, if you a little bit you understand, I can understand the message and what he is talking about if its just a little bit I understand what he is talking about.

Marsh: Do you go to the Saint Peter's Catholic Church with any of your friends or do you go alone?

Abel: No, I go alone most people [Eritreans] here are Orthodox [Eritrean or Ethiopian Orthodox Christians], most people from Eritrea are Orthodox in Greeley. But I know in Denver a lot of people [Eritreans] are Catholic and they pray by my mother's language, by Tigrinya. One time in Denver, the priest come from another state, that's why one day a month... Yeah, you know like the same, they same here, the Bible, the culture, everything even from when I was little, my family take me daily, that's why we go to the churchy, we pray everything as a service, that's why we still know the service.

Marsh: Is it nice and comfortable?

Abel: Yeah, it's comfortable. It's good, yeah?

In certain ways places of worship are places of comfort, places of engaging in original cultural practices and reminders of home, such as is the case for Abel. But in other ways, due to cultural differences, the place of worship fails to provide avenues to express ethnic identities through singing, clapping, and dancing with fellow community members, as is the case for Evelyn. The religious experiences of other refugees vary from Evelyn and Abel and will be discussed in further depth in the Findings: Social Bonds and Social Bridges chapter.

4.5 Language and learning English

All of my key informants that participated in the home interview guide answered yes to speaking their native languages at home. All of them also answered yes that speaking English makes them feel at home. Language is very important in both instilling cultural identity and freely speaking with others as well as it is a necessary tool to connect with and build social bridges with the host community. Speaking their native mother tongues is crucial for comfort and belonging, but on the other side, learning English is very important for them to connect with the host community, find employment, gain citizenship, and feel a part of the larger society.

Evelyn (interview with author, July 27, 2015) said this in regards to speaking her native language within her own home:

Evelyn: “Learning English is helping me feel at home in Greeley.” [reading guide out loud] Yes!

Evelyn: “Speaking my language made me feel at home.” [reading guide out loud] Yes!

Marsh: Do you speak French at home?

Evelyn: I speak my dialect [Awhine] at home with my husband and children.

Sandra (interview with author, July 21, 2015) said this in regards to learning English and speaking her native language at home with her family:

Sandra: yeah ... “Learning English is helping me feel at home in Greeley” [reading guide out loud] Yeah. yeah, its helping me feel at home, because back in my country in school we had three [two] languages that we must compose, must study. French, English... yeah, you must study the two

languages, you must speak French and English, bilingual, that is why they call Cameroon a bilingual country, because we speak two languages, French and English.

Sandra: “Speaking my language makes me feel at home.” [reading guide out loud] Yeah, the English and remember. I speak my dialect with my mom, yeah.

Marsh: So at home do you speak French or Awhine [the dialect]?

Sandra: Hmm...we speak both, we speak English if someone there not understand, and the dialect the grandmother does not understand English very well you have to speak in the dialect around her, yeah.

All the other refugees and immigrants I interviewed said they speak their native languages within their houses and it makes them feel at home.

Learning English opens the door for the refugees and immigrants to speak to other local Greeley people. Maung Maung (interview with author, July 12 and October 8, 2015) and Sona (interview with author, August 4, 2015) both feel comfortable speaking English to native English speakers. Others, like Abel (interview with author, August 19, 2015) and Debretsion (interview with author, October 15, 2015), to a lesser degree, are more self-conscious about their English skills. Maung Maung (interview with author, July 12 and October 8, 2015) said this about speaking English:

Marsh: How comfortable do you feel about speaking English to strangers in the U.S.?

Maung Maung: I speak English not very well but the United States people listen

Marsh: So you are ok and comfortable speaking English to people you don't know?

Maung Maung: Yes, when I was in Thailand, when I talk I can't speak very well they angry.

Marsh: Oh, and here its ok?

Maung Maung: Uh-hun

Finally, learning English is important for the refugees and immigrants to have access to the larger community and resources. And they want to learn English (Sona, interview with author, August 4, 2015).

Marsh: Do you speak your language?

Sona: I speak the Rohingya, the Burmese, the Hindi, the Sri Lanka, last is the Bangla...Bangladesh...

Marsh: Ok, what else would you need to feel better in Greeley? Is there anything else you need from...to help you?

Sona: I need to learn, how can I learn English or how can I talk to people...

Marsh: Is that what you need?

Sona: Yeah

Marsh: Are the English classes here [at the GRC], are they helpful?

Sona: Yeah, yeah, if I don't understand, I am not shy I ask Mary [the ESL level 4 volunteer teacher]...

Sona: When I come this part I don't speak English much, I talk to people, I go over here and I talk to people and I learn English now

Marsh: Yeah, it helps to learn English

Sona: Yeah

Marsh: Do you feel free to talk to people at the grocery store..?

Sona: Yeah, I don't mind. I talk to anyone [said this smiling].

Learning the host language is essential and necessary for successful integration (Ager and Strang 2008) and the GRC fulfills a very important role by providing free ESL classes to anyone in the community. However, what is hidden in this piece of interview is that Sona (interview with author, August 4, 2015) says “how can I learn English or how can I talk to people...” I think he is trying to say he needs to speak with native English speakers to practice his English. Earlier in the interview he had said how speaking his native languages at home is nice but he doesn't practice his English at home and he is worried he will not get better at the English language. Abel (interview with author, August 19, 2015) had a similar concern with speaking Tigrinya, his native language, at home in that it hinders his English language learning and practice.

Marsh: Do you speak Tigrinya with your friends?

Abel: Yeah, I speak but it not development my English when I speak Tigrinya at home.

This is a real concern that speaking native languages at home impedes English language development and practice which will in turn hinder the refugee and immigrant connections to the broader community. At least both Maung Maung and Sona, however, but not Abel, feel that Americans are very patient and kind to them when they try to speak English. Sona will talk to anyone. From my observations, Debretsion, while conscious of what he feels is poor English skills (interview with author, October 15,

2015), is unhindered in speaking English because he also loves to talk to anyone who will listen. The willingness to speak English to native English speakers varied person to person and corresponded with how socially connected they felt outside of their own ethnic group. Abel is much more self conscious about his English skills while Maung Maung, Sona and Debretsion were less so (how English language development effects social connections with the broader community is discussed further in the Social Bridges section of Findings: Social Bonds and Social Bridges Chapter).

It is encouraging that many of refugees and immigrants take the ESL classes provided at the GRC and with the other organizations, such as the libraries and School District Six, in Greeley. Equally encouraging, is that many different organizations, both non-profit and governmental, offer ESL Classes to anyone in Greeley. I have also observed in the level four ESL classes that the teacher will incorporate American cultural lessons into the daily discussion to further educate the refugees and immigrants about their new home. Such inclusion of local culture really aids in the integration process of learning the receiving community's cultural norms.

4.6 Adequate Housing, Leaving or Staying?

Adequate housing that is in a safe location, affordable, accessible, and clean is generally available to the refugees and immigrants living in Greeley. It is important to feeling at home and integrating into the larger society. There are, however, problems with poor management not addressing bed bugs and cockroach infestations in the apartment complexes that the refugees and immigrants reside. None of my key informants complained about such issues to me during the interviews. Only Sandra mentioned that

the manager did not take care of problems, but she did not say what the problems were. It was during my interview with Courtney Steiz (October 20, 2015) that I learned about various bug infestations. Steiz lives in the same apartment complex as the Karenni and followed them when they moved to a second apartment complex in Evans, a small town bordering Greeley. Both of these apartment complexes have significant issues with bug infestations. Steiz discussed that with the recent housing shortage in Greeley (caused by the oil boom in Northern Colorado) finding places to rent is more difficult for the Karenni because of the language barrier and the difficulty navigating financial institutions for access to quick money to pay the rent deposits. Even with the above issues it is unclear if the difficulty renting a place is an issue of housing discrimination. It is important to note, though, that when Steiz confronted the manager about bugs in her own apartment, the issue was dealt with immediately. But when she confronted the manager about bug problems in the Karenni apartments, they were difficult and confrontational about the issue and slower to respond (Courtney Steiz, interview with author, October 20, 2015). I think it is arguable that this is an example of housing discrimination against the refugees at least in terms of providing clean apartments. And this highlights what Sandra (interview with author, July 21, 2015) said about the manager of her families' apartment not taking care of problems in the complex. But, I do not feel I have enough data to conclude this is truly an issue of housing discrimination. I think while, yes, it is in partly due to housing discrimination, I think it is also related to the cheaper housing available for the refugees and immigrants to rent and the often corresponding lack of quality and location of these cheaper apartments.

She informed me that many of the Karenni are now buying homes in Greeley, which is encouraging as they are settling down and here to stay for at least awhile. It also shows that some have enough financial security, most likely due to their jobs at JBS, to buy homes, but others still find it somewhat difficult to find apartments (Courtney Steiz, interview with author, October 20, 2015).

Most of my refugee or immigrant key informants said they like their homes or apartments in general. Only a few said their apartments were too small for them and their families. Margarito (interview with author, July 28, 2015), who has lived in Greeley for over 20 years, owns his own home and this is what he said in regards to his home:

Marsh: And here do you live in a house or an apartment?

Margarito: House

Marsh: Do you own it?

Margarito: Yes

Marsh: Do you like it?

Margarito: Yeah, [smiles] I will tell you about my house. Its big, it has six rooms, two living room, two bathrooms, a garage with two cars. My yard is large too. It's a nice house.

Margarito is proud of his home. Margarito currently works at JBS and has for a long time (the original reason he moved to Greeley was to work at JBS). Margarito owns a nice big house which shows that he was able to buy this asset, at least from what I have gathered, with the money he earned working at JBS (Margarito, interview with author, July 28, 2015). This is encouraging that the

jobs at JBS can provide enough money for the refugees and immigrants working there to some day buy their own home.

Many of the refugees and immigrants I spoke with plan on staying in Greeley. Maung Maung, as discussed above, is the one key informant that said he would leave Greeley if another job opportunity came up. Evelyn (interview with author, July 27, 2015) and Sandra (interview with author, July 21, 2015) said they would like to move to Maryland to be closer to fellow Cameroonians. During my interview with Steiz (October 20, 2015), she said that over time the Karenni refugees are leaving less, and instead are buying houses and settling down. During my interview with West and Odiwuor (October 8, 2015) of the GRC, West said that the refugees feel at home because Greeley is comfortable, friendly, and generally welcoming. The only negative part of Greeley is the lack of job opportunities outside of JBS. She emphasized that the refugees are not migrating people, are hoping to stay in Greeley and that Greeley's members need to understand this about this new group.

Marsh: ...How do you think, in general, the refugees feel about Greeley and being here?

West: They have said it is a very friendly community, very welcoming and open. With every place there is going to be some hardship...I think the hardest part is the job...market...but I think the hospitality of Greeley and Weld County has been pretty well open, um, for the most part.

Marsh: Do you think they feel relatively at peace, content, at home?

West: I think they feel safe. Um... Are you ever content not being home? I think they call this their new home and they are happy with that. You do have those that long to go back but they know they're is nothing to go back too. So, this is their new home that's the most outstanding part of all of this is their attitude because they have been through hell and back, they smile, they're are happy and they are amiable...They would do anything to help you. They care about one another. They care about the general community. They care about their new country. But through all they have been through, I think they are the happiest people on earth. I really do.

West has worked with the refugee and immigrant community for many years and understands their story better than most people living in Greeley. I am finishing this chapter with this quote from her because I think it beautifully highlights the resilience of the refugees and immigrants, their ability to find comfort and home wherever they are in the world, including Greeley, Colorado, and to emphasize what they offer and give to their new receiving communities (Colette West and Emily Odiwuor, interview with author, October 8, 2015).

I agree with West's assertion that the refugees and immigrants living in Greeley are happy people that care about their receiving community and want to be apart of it. Most of my key informants feel at home in Greeley even though they miss their countries of origins. Most feel safe in Greeley, especially when compared to other countries or parts of the United States they have lived, and they plan on staying in Greeley for the foreseeable future. Being able to engage in their original cultural practices helps enable, create, and establish a sense of home for my key informants with their families inside

their new apartments and houses. Unfortunately, some original cultural practices are not encouraged in Greeley or there are no places to engage with them and this does negatively affect some of my key informants' sense of home and belonging in Greeley. Speaking their native languages brings a sense of home to them and learning English allows them to communicate with the boarder society and feel more comfortable within the city. Overall, adequate housing is mostly available for the refugees and immigrants in Greeley. As discussed earlier issues of bug infestations and difficulty finding places to rent are issues with which they struggle and could be the result of housing discrimination in some way. It is not clear if this problem is an issue of housing discrimination, or an issue of high demand low supply for rental housing. It may also be related to the quality and location of housing affordable for the refugees and immigrants. I will discuss this more in the results chapter on Greeley's Segregated Urban Landscape.

Chapter Five

Findings: Social Bonds

5. Social Bonds

Social bonds include intra-ethnic relationships, ties, networks, connections, and friendships. Meaning such relationships, ties, etc. are with people that share the same ethnic, cultural and/or linguistic background. Most of my refugee and immigrant key informants closest friends are people that share their ethnicity, culture and/or language.

The key informants engage in original ethnic cultural practices with people of the same ethnic background, such as cultural festivals, or organizing and attending church together as an ethnic or linguistic group. What is crucial about social bonds is that they are inclusive only to people of the same ethnicity, cultural and/or linguistic group and therefore distinctly exclusive to people who are perceived as different, including other refugees or immigrants and the broader Greeley community. Participation in original cultural practices and festivities occurs nearly exclusively with member of intra-ethnic communities so that only a few people of different backgrounds attend such events.

The inclusion and exclusion effect is less intentional and more a result of wanting and thus creating groups that promote comfort, familiarity, and simulate group and individual identity. This approach greatly helps integrate those who have others members of their same ethnicity living in Greeley, but for others who have few members from their ethnic, cultural and/or linguistic backgrounds it serves to isolate them and hinder their

integration into Greeley. What is most interesting about the key informants who lack intra-ethnic communities is they focus less on general ethnicity and more on the absence of people from the same village or region from their countries of origin.

5.1 Intra-Ethnic, Cultural and/or Linguistic Friends

I found throughout my key informant interviews with the refugees and immigrants that their closest friendships are with members of the same ethnic or linguistic backgrounds. One example shows that for Abel (interview with author, August 19, 2015) and Margarito (interview with author, July 28, 2015), their closest friends are people of the same ethnic, cultural and/or linguistic background and they spend time with them outside of work. They only have friends of other ethnicities, cultures or languages at work. Abel (interview with author, August 19, 2015) said:

Marsh: Are your friends Eritrea and Ethiopians?

Abel: Eritreans

Mars: Do you have any Burmese friends?

Abel: Only at work...

It is important to understand that Abel's friend situation is complex. While his closest friends are Eritreans they are from a different state of Eritrea and their "behavior" is different from his own (Abel, interview with author, August 19, 2015). So while he has friends who are ethnically and linguistically similar he does not really connect with them very closely. This is discussed in depth below.

Margarito (interview with author, July 28, 2015) is from Guatemala and there is not a large community of Guatemalans in Greeley. Margarito's closest friends are from

Mexico and some are from Guatemala all of whom are of a similar linguistic background.

Margarito said this in regards to his friends in Greeley:

Marsh: Your friends are...?

Margarito: Mexican

Marsh: Mostly?

Margarito: Well some from my country...

Marsh: Do you have friends with any of the refugees from Africa or Asia?

Margarito: Yeah! I have friends...in my work

These intra-ethnic friendships are a major avenue of socialization that allow immigrants to feel comfortable, secure, and at home in Greeley. They also provide access through which the refugees and immigrants decide to move to Greeley. It is through these friendships or relationships that they find out about job opportunities at JBS. Margarito, as mentioned in the previous chapter, moved to Greeley because his brother told him about a potential job opportunity with JBS. Kyaw Aung (interview with author, August 4, 2015), an ethnic Burmese man from Myanmar, recently arrived in Greeley, had only one friend who was also ethnically Burmese. But it was due to this friend living in Greeley and working at JBS that persuaded Kyaw Aung to move to Greeley. He is currently applying at JBS and waiting for a job. He said this (Kyaw Aung, interview with author, August 4, 2015):

Marsh: And your one friend [mentioned earlier in interview] in Greeley is native Burmese?

Kyaw Aung: Yeah, native Burmese.

Marsh: Did you come together from Burma?

Kyaw Aung: No, no, no he come five years later [means earlier]. I been here three months.

Marsh: So you've been here three months, ok well welcome [we laugh].

Ok and your friend was here for five years?

Kyaw Aung: Yeah.

Marsh: Is that how you came to Greeley is that your friend was here?

Kyaw Aung: Yeah

Evelyn and Sandra's situations are similar to Kyaw Aung. They decided to move to Greeley because a family friend of theirs lives in Greeley and was able to get Evelyn's husband a job at JBS. Both Sandra and Evelyn also have classmate friends, but from observations of behavior and of comments made in class I understood them to be casual friends (Sandra, interview with author, July 21, 2015; Evelyn, interview with author, July 27, 2015).

Another potential reason why the refugees and immigrants have closest ties with people of similar ethnic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds, besides the comforting aspect of it, is because of American individualistic cultural behaviors. Such as not addressing strangers on the street or knowing one's neighbor. Evelyn and I were talking about her cognitive map of Greeley during class one day and she brought up American behaviors she found peculiar, specifically that of not addressing people on the street or neighbors not saying "Hello" to each other. She talked about how she sits at home looking out the window and no one ever stops by to meet them, or say "hello" or anything. The look on her and Sandra's faces was of sadness, confusion, and longing for the close communal living they had in their village in Cameroon. These

American/Greeley behaviors, as described by Evelyn, seem to make her feel lonely and isolated from her neighbors and the broader Greeley community. Evelyn said she did not know her neighbors and found this contrasted sharply to how neighborhood relations were back in her village in Cameroon.

Evelyn (interview with author, July 27, 2015) and Sandra expressed that most, if not all, of their intra-ethnic friends live in Maryland (Sandra, interview with author, July 21, 2015).

Sandra: "I have friends in Greeley." Um... Yeah... a few, my classmates

Marsh: Yeah? ... Besides your classmates, do you have any other friends...?

Sandra: Yeah... I have... Maryland, all my friends, they are in Maryland, not in Greeley.

I learned from them that no Cameroonians people live in Greeley and most that live in Colorado live in Denver. But they are not connected to this Cameroonian community (Sandra, interview with author, July 21, 2015).

Marsh: Are there any restaurants that cook Cameroonian food in Colorado or Denver?

Sandra: In Denver, because there's a lot of Cameroonians in Denver.

Marsh: Are you connected with that community at all?

Sandra: No.

Marsh: ...Are they from the same region in Cameroon?

Sandra: I don't know... I just know there's a lot of Cameroonians there.

The reality of lacking any intra-ethnic networks or social connections in Colorado while having friends in Maryland amplifies the reality that this Cameroonian family is ethnically and culturally alone in Greeley. Furthermore, the individualistic American cultural norms exacerbate their feelings of loneliness and isolation because even common polite interactions with strangers are absent.

I found that strong social bonds likely do not occur if the intra-ethnic community members are from the varying regions of the country or different villages. As an example, for Evelyn and Sandra, they had no fellow Cameroonians in Greeley. A population of Cameroonians, however, lives in Denver, but they were not connected to them in any way. These two women said that members of their village lived in Maryland yet carried out cultural festivities in both Atlanta, Georgia and Maryland that include raising funds to send home to their village (Evelyn, interview with author, July 27, 2015). It, therefore seems that social networks of refugees and immigrants are not necessarily connected only to country of origin, but even more specifically to region or village of origin. This occurred to me because Abel (interview with author, August 19, 2015) said that all the Eritreans in Greeley are from the same region of Eritrea but he is from a different region, and is the only one, besides his sister who lives in Denver, from his region of Eritrea. Abel also said that while he is ethnically and linguistically similar to the other Tigrinyans in Greeley, and they comprise his networks of friends, their overall cultural behaviors are different and this seemed to hinder the depth of his connection with them (Abel, interview with author, August, 19, 2015).

Marsh: When you first came to the United States, what did you miss the most about home when you first came here?

Abel: So the people that come here from Eritrea, no one come from my town or from my ...how do you call it, Eritrea is divided into zones...

Marsh: Or kind of like states?

Abel: Like exactly like states, yeah so from my state I do not find anyone here

Marsh: Wow, you're the only one?

Abel: All from here are all from one place

Marsh: Really?

Abel: Yeah, that's why I don't go to people, you know? They behavior is different, everyone has their own behavior

Marsh: Is the language different?

Abel: No the language is the same, the behavior...yeah, very different.

For Abel, Evelyn and Sandra, having people that are from their same village or region of their country is important for having intra-ethnic bonds. People who are of a similar ethnic and linguistic background that live in Greeley or Denver do not relate to them or have connections to their old communities.

It should be noted that in other key informant interviews it was not clear if the close intra-ethnic friends that exist amongst the refugee and immigrant communities also came from the same region or village. And I am unsure if the Karen, Karenni, Burmese, and Rohingya (different ethnic groups from Burma) are from different regions or cities and if this corresponds to their intra-ethnic communities formed in Greeley. What I did gather is that the Karen and Karenni get along and have formed two communities that blend easily with each other, but the Burmese and Rohingya do not get along with each

other or with the Karen or Karenni (Courtney Steiz, interview with author, October 20, 2015). It was also clear from my interviews that generally the refugees and immigrants closest community members and friends are people of their same ethnicity. I did find a few exceptions to this and I will discuss this in more depth in the Social Bridges section.

5.2 Intra-Ethnic Networks Support Systems

As discussed early, many of my key informants, such as Evelyn's husband and Kyaw Aung, found their jobs through friends. Besides helping each other find jobs, the intra-ethnic networks really serve to provide safety nets for members of the ethnic community. As an example, Courtney Steiz (interview with author, October 20, 2015) described that while the government provides services the Karenni cannot meet internally, they do still collect money during the Karenni church service from all the members for a communal fund to help pay for parties or other costs incurred by community members.

Steiz: Both, I think government services...meets needs they can't meet internally. Even food stamps, stuff like that is important. If everyone is poor then it's just degrees. They share a lot more than we do. Everyone is constantly sharing food. The Karenni people, as part of church service take collection from its own members in case if someone needs money for a birthday party or something like that, which is great and cool.

Besides having a communal fund to pay for parties or other needs of its community members, I asked West and Odiwuor (interview with author, October 8, 2015) if homelessness among the refugees and immigrants was an issue or not. They said

no, because the refugees and immigrants would never allow a member of their own group to be out on the streets.

Marsh: Is homelessness a growing problem amongst the refugees?

West: Not so much, they are very ironclad with one another so they are very helpful toward one another

Marsh: So they wouldn't allow that to happen?

West: Right, so yeah, if new people come they see it as their responsibility to house them and keep them and help them find a job until they get on their feet. I wish the general population would act the same.

The refugee and immigrant intra-ethnic networks and friendships serve many purposes and fulfill many needs of their community members, such as providing money for parties, social support, sharing of food and shelter, and helping each other find jobs. Individuals or families that had smaller intra-ethnic communities or who were without these are and feel more alone, isolated, and vulnerable making them be less integrated than those who have an intra-ethnic community.

5.3 Intra-Ethnic Communities, Original Cultural Practices and Religion

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Evelyn is unable to go to Atlanta, Georgia to participate in the yearly Cameroonian festivities with her fellow village people and she was very sad that she could not attend. Fortunately, the Karenni and Karen communities are at least able to engage in original cultural practices together in Greeley. Steiz (interview with author, October 20, 2015) told of Karenni Deeku cultural festivities, including playing games, having soccer and volleyball tournaments, and dancing. Many

conversations about the celebration that occurs every year usually at Centennial Elementary School in Greeley. Karenni and Karen come from Denver to join in for the festivities (Courtney Steiz, interview with author, October 20, 2015).

Margarito (interview with author, July 28, 2015) told me he attends a big party in Denver with fellow Guatemalans to celebrate Guatemala Independence Day on September 15.

Margarito: Ok, "I participate in my culture's activities like cooking, dancing and singing that remind me of home." Sometimes I go to Denver, September 15

None of my other key informants talked about ethnic cultural festivities they attend either in Greeley or elsewhere, but many of them go to places of worship in Denver about once or twice a month. Kyaw Aung (interview with author, August 4, 2015) is Buddhist and attends temple in Denver a few times a month. Abel (interview with author, August 19, 2015) attends Catholic mass in Denver whenever an Eritrean Catholic Priest is visiting and preaching in his 'mother tongue' of Tigrinya.

A Karen, Karenni and a Spanish-speaking group each hold their own separate culturally and linguistically distinct Sunday church services at Zoe's Coffee Shop with help from Christ Community. Christ Community provides these three ethnically and linguistically different refugee and immigrant congregations with church service guidance and free space at Zoe's (the coffee shop is owned and operated by Christ Community). The Karenni, Karen, and a Spanish-speaking church services are mostly led by their own group members. The Karen are Baptists and they had started their own church when they first came to Greeley in 2008. Christ Community built relationships

with this congregation and over time they moved their congregation to Zoe's. The Karen Baptist congregation consists of around 50 people. Christ Community formed Christ Community International hoping for an ethnically diverse church but it evolved into being a congregation comprised of around 75% Karenni (Courtney Steiz, interview with author, October 20, 2015; Jane McConnell, interview with author, August 17, 2015). Courtney Steiz (interview with author, October 20, 2015), one of my local Greeley key informants, helps lead and direct it and it has about 35-40 people in attendance every Sunday. The Spanish-speaking congregation has about 120 people in attendance (Courtney Steiz, interview with author, October 20, 2015; Jane McConnell, interview with author, August 17, 2015).

Christ Community generous provision of this free space to these three congregations allows them to gather together and worship in their own culturally unique way. They get to preach and hear sermons and sing songs in their own language using their own cultural musical instruments. Steiz (interview with author, October 20, 2015) reflected how interesting it is to see the blending of culture into religion and how this manifest in these different groups worshipping Jesus in their own unique cultural ways.

Steiz: There's actually a Baptists Karen church here. That's all Karen run. They meet at Zoe's too. The Karen is self led and they have some Baptist influence in their culture. The Karenni are animistic, Buddhist, and now Christian and Catholic. Some of them have the animistic beliefs woven into whatever else they do but not all of them. Part of what we believe at Christ Community and for me as a church leader is that Jesus is the only way. But it opens a fun discussion of what is culture and what is religion. Basically, how you get to worship Jesus is

uniquely you...such as incorporating dance and using things that make sense for them culturally.

These three congregations get to use the space at Zoe's to gather and worship in their own cultural way, through their own language, which allows them to them to engage and build their intra-ethnic communities in way that is familiar and unique to them.

Christ Community even helps provide translators and translating devices in English, Karenni, Karen, and Bangla (Courtney Steiz, interview with author, October 20, 2015; Jane McConnell, interview with author, August 17, 2015). This is very beneficial to these congregations in allowing them to have time, place, and community that is familiar and comforting, especially considering Greeley is still somewhat foreign and strange.

Furthermore, while these congregations are mostly comprised of one ethnic or linguist group, having translators and being in proximity to each other opens the door for improving cross ethnic relationships. While Christ Community's efforts helping the refugee and immigrant communities is commendable and speaks highly for the community outreach efforts of the church, there is an unintended consequence of having these congregations' services at Zoe's. It segregates these refugees and immigrant communities away from the main church campus and congregation ultimately hindering aspects of integration by creating a situation where the refugees and immigrants miss out on opportunities to build relationships and networks with the larger community during Sunday church services.

It is important for intra-ethnic communities to engage in original cultural practices via various celebrations or through the administration of and attendance to church services on Sundays. This aids to build intra-ethnic group and individual identities,

maintain linguistic cohesion, and provide time and space to participate in culturally familiar practices. While there is an unintended consequence of segregating the distinct ethnic and linguist congregations to different parts of town, Christ Community, nonetheless, is providing the Karen, Karenni and Spanish-speaking congregations with a much needed space to worship in their own unique cultural way.

A major point (that will be also highlighted in the Social Bridges section) is that even though cross ethnic and cross cultural relationships are important for integration, the refugees and immigrants are most intimately connected to members of their same ethnic, cultural and/or linguistic groups. This reality emphasizes the need to be connected to a community that is culturally familiar and comforting in order to feel a sense of belonging, security, and social cohesion that will aid in overall integration. Without this community refugees and immigrants are more likely to be lonely and isolated, as see through the cases of Abel, Evelyn and Sandra.

Chapter Six

Findings: Social Bridges

6. Social Bridges

Social bridges are the connections, networks, ties, relationships and friendships created across ethnic lines between the refugee and immigrant individuals and communities. It also is the connections, networks, relationships, etc. between the refugee and immigrant community members with members or groups of the receiving community, Greeley. These connections, networks, relationships, friendships and ties are created through interactions of various types between these groups of people. If interactions are hindered in some way, either through reluctance to engage with people different from each other, or through special segregation, it establishes social barriers leading to various social and economic consequences for the refugees and immigrants. If these interactions are fostered through worshipping, living, or working together it establishes networks and relationships that can greatly help the refugees and immigrants feel at home, be involved as active community members, find better employment opportunities, and practice English language skills. Such relationships also benefit the broader community of Greeley both economically and culturally. These relationships help curb negative or stereotypical perceptions of the refugees and immigrants only as beneficiaries and allows for them to be seen more as important contributing members of society.

Intra-ethnic social bonds (discussed above) are needed in order for the refugees and immigrants to have some sense of normalcy and comfort in their lives. It needs to be balanced with having inter-ethnic and inter-community relationships and networks in order for them to have access to education, jobs, healthcare and general participation in the community. The social bridges between the local Greeley community and the refugees and immigrants are complex, complicated and multi-faceted. While some inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts do exist, the GRC has worked hard to open up dialogue and foster understanding between groups. This effort has helped keep tensions and conflicts from escalating and, furthermore, has helped promote inter-ethnic relationships during class at the GRC. Inter-ethnic relationships also exist among the Muslim population because some members of the Somali, Rohingya and Irani attend the same mosque together in Greeley. Sona, a Rohingya refugee from Burma, is an example of such a situation. He has found mosque and work are places where inter-ethnic lasting friendships are built and important networks are created which allows for him to feel socially secure and more integrated into Greeley. There are, however, fewer cases of crossing ethnic and social lines within church congregations, including congregations that are refugee and immigrant or Greeley community members.

Social bridges between refugee and immigrant individuals and Greeley individuals occur really only at the GRC or if a Greeley individual makes an efforts to build relationships with the refugees or immigrants. Abel is an example of how on an individual level the Greeley community members seem to ignore him and by this behavior project intolerance toward the refugees and immigrants. Abel's experiences at

church and his negative interactions with people in his apartment complex highlight this issue.

However, this is not to say that all members of Greeley's community ignore the refugee and immigrant communities. Andy and Courtney Steiz are an unique example of two local members of Greeley community who choose to live with the Karenni community and help them navigate Greeley's cultural norms and larger social service institutions. Furthermore, there are many efforts at an organizational or institutional level to welcome the refugee and immigrant communities and encourage them to put down their 'roots' in Greeley. I will end this chapter with an in-depth discussion regarding the purpose and successes of the Roots Project, headed by Dr. Michael Kimball from the UNC's Department of Anthropology.

6.1 Inter-Ethnic Social Bridges among the Refugees and Immigrants

Steiz (interview with author, October 20, 2015) explained to me that she does not see intentional efforts among the refugees to build networks or relationships across ethnicities. She argued that the refugees are constantly dealing with difference and culture shock in so many ways while interacting with Greeley. So when it comes to downtime, they want to spend that time with people similar to them. Jane McConnell³ (interview with author, August 17, 2015), a member of Christ Community, understands the need for the refugee and immigrant communities to have places and times where they are with their own people and yet there is a need to also build social relationships with the broader community.

³ Jane McConnell is a pseudonym

McConnell: ...I think there's a balance and this is what I've learned ...working with this context a lot there is a need for a balance, everything cannot be multiethnic. Because people, especially in refugee population needs some context where they are with their own. And so there is a balance of needing some ethnic context as well as with the broader context. Some of that is natural, I think, within the community in terms that some ethnic groups tend to be grouped together, so they are getting that...

In this way, the space at Zoe's Coffee Shop afforded to the Karen, Karenni, and Spanish speaking congregations is filling a much needed role in terms of providing a space where they can be with their own kind, talk and worship in their own language, and be in comforting setting and community.

There are some situations of inter-ethnic conflict between the refugees and immigrants but it is not very severe. West and Odiwuor (interview with author, October 8, 2015) spoke of such situations and the role that Abdi and the GRC play in mediating potential disagreements, tensions, and issues among the ethnic groups.

West: Yes, so in some of the area where the populations live they cohabitate with other cultures. So the Africans and the Asians get along well but the Africans and the Latinos do not. And so there is a lot of push back there. Asad actually sits on a Hispanic cultural awareness group so that the Latino population can be told and the African population can be told by the Latinos population what is going on and how can they work together in leadership to help some of that.

R: That tension or conflict?

West: Yes.

While some tensions exist, it seems the mediating efforts made by Abdi and the GRC have helped to ease these tensions. And at the same time, there are instances of inter-ethnic relationships and networks forming among the refugees and immigrants, especially at work or at the GRC. Odiwuor makes an interesting argument that the different ethnic groups do share similar general characteristics. She and West agree it is difficult to generalize inter-ethnic relationships, tensions, and struggles because it varies case by case (interview with author, October 8, 2015).

Odiwuor: Yeah, and it depends on the person too. I mean there are still a lot of cultural aspects that are shared between South American cultures and African cultures...its hard to generalize such huge continents, but... very patriarchal society, very respect their elders kind of thing, very family oriented and very community oriented. And often times the Africans, well specifically, central Africans, and Mexicans working together side by side and get along. There are a lot of people who have come to me to teach them Spanish because they want to speak to their bosses and their coworkers and their friends and they come and say “Ola” to their students.

West: Yeah, and its so funny to see Somalis speak Spanish.

Odiwuor: Yeah! Um but that’s something we are trying to promote in class because we have such a diverse group of students coming in here every day. One class can represent six or seven different countries of

origin and everybody works well together and everybody enjoys being together and everybody enjoys learning together. And so that can be seen outside by the community as well...um, by and large Colette is probably right but there will always be people on both sides.

During my observations at the GRC, I found that the refugees and immigrants do get along and that no obvious hostilities exist among the different ethnic groups, at least not while class is in session. I observed a two-week session held in June at the GRC that taught the refugees and immigrants about each other's cultures by providing different ethnic foods and explanations of different ethnic holidays, festivals, cultural practices and religions. The session also tried to have the refugees and immigrants understand that they all have undergone similar situations and difficulties of losing their homes and starting over in the United States. Efforts like these made by the GRC seem to be crucial for bridging ethnic and cultural gaps between the refugee and immigrant ethnic groups.

Sona (interview with author, August 4, 2015), is an interesting and unique case from my key informant sample. His situation highlights a potential difference in inter-ethnic relationship building for the Muslims compared to other religions. It turned out that my key informant sample had only one Muslim person, and that was Sona. What I found fascinating about Sona's situation is that he had Rohingya (his ethnicity) *and* Somali and Mexican friends. I found this was because the Somalis are also Muslim and attend the same mosque as Sona and the Mexicans he knows through working at JBS. In the following interview excerpt, notice how his friends do not include the Karen, Karenni, or Eritreans and how he first identifies 'Muslim' as the key difference between the Rohingya and Karen and Karenni.

Marsh: You said you have your friends are from your home country

[asking off of answered guide]? So they're mostly Burmese?

Sona: Burmese

Marsh: are you Karen..?

Sona: No! Rohingya [spells it out loud for me, and then writes it down]

Marsh: How is Rohingya different than the Karen and the Karenni?

Sona: Because the Rohingya the people...is mostly Muslim. The...Burma have many different [ethnic groups] the Karen, the Karenni, Shing...like you have Mexican, Muslim. It's the same.

Marsh: Are you Muslim?

Sona: Yeah.

Marsh: So your friends that are here in Greeley, are they Rohingya?

Sona: Yeah

Marsh: Only?

Sona: Some Rohingya, some Mexican

Marsh: Any Karen, Karenni?

Sona: No.

Marsh: Any Eritrean?

Sona: No, but Somalis

Marsh: You have Somali friends?

Sona: Mexican, Rohingya and Somali

In other parts of the interview, Sona emphasized that some friends are people from work, especially the Mexicans and Somalis. I did not figure out how or why Sona

had Mexican friends and not Eritrean, Karen or Karenni friends, even though all of these groups of people work at JBS and attend the GRC. But what I did gather is it seems that Sona's Somali friendships are also due to that they all go to the same mosque and that he, as he mentioned later in the interview, likes to eat at the Somali owned restaurants in Greeley (Sona, interview with author, August 4, 2015).

Marsh: Do you go to a mosque?

Sona: Yeah, a mosque.

Marsh: Is it Rohingya?

Sona: There Rohingya, the Somali, Irani

Marsh: At the mosque?

Sona: Yeah

Marsh: Are you all there together, and its ok?

Sona: Yeah, it's ok...No problem

Marsh: Do you go often to the mosque?

Sona: ... Want to go five time, but I don't have the time....if I have time I have to go five times a day

Marsh: Do your friends go to the mosque with you?

Sona: Yeah

Marsh: So you meet them there?

Sona: Yeah I meet them there...The Friday, everyone every time, we all come together, Friday... Somalis, all the Muslims go to the mosque on Friday. Like you go to church on Sunday, Mexican all people, it's the same.

Sona's interview brought a unique distinction that being a Muslim plays in providing an avenue to build social bridges across ethnicities. Also my Christian and Buddhist key informants apparently only attend church services or temple that are comprised mostly of their own ethnic or linguist group. They either attend church services where the congregation is mostly people of their same ethnicity, such as the Karen Baptist congregation and Christ Community International Karenni congregation, or church services comprised of local Greeley members but have little to no interaction with the local Greeley people.

6.2 Consequences of lacking Social Bridges with Individuals from Greeley

I have known Abel for a few years now. He was in my first class I taught when I first volunteered at the GRC back in 2013 and subsequent classes. I think because he knows me pretty well he was the most honest about his experience of living in Greeley. I am emphasizing Abel's story heavily in this section because his story highlights the covert racial discrimination that occurs at the individual level between the refugee and immigrants and the Greeley community. This is seen both at the Catholic Church he attends and from his interactions with people who live in his apartment complex. None of my other key informants know me as well as Abel and therefore I think they may have censored what was said to me, especially when it came to questions of how local Greeley people treated them. While I think they are treated generally well, I do think, and West and Odiwuor agreed (interview with author, October 8, 2015), my refugee and immigrant key informants would not tell me, as a member of Greeley's community, about bad encounters they may have had with a local Greeley person or group. Abel's experience is

raw, sad, and very telling about what is happening during some interactions at an individual level between some of the refugees and immigrants and Greeley's community members.

Abel (interview with author, August, 19, 2015), as mentioned in the previous chapter is Catholic, attends Saint Peter's Catholic Church in Greeley. He is the only person in Greeley from his region of Eritrea. Even though Abel finds the Catholic mass comforting due to the similar format of the mass service, he attends mass in Greeley alone. He also has a very hard time meeting local Greeley people in the Saint Peter's congregation because everyone leaves so quickly after mass closes. He blames his English skills as being too inadequate for people to speak with him (Abel, interview with author, August 19, 2015).

Marsh: ... Do you feel comfortable at the Saint Peter's Catholic Church, do you like it there?

Abel: At the time I go to church, it is better to know with someone when church is done you talk to him. You know? Everyone at home [he makes gestures with his hands as if people walk away quickly from church]. But when I was in Eritrea we talking, take time outside the church.

Marsh: To talk?

Abel: One meeting come to church people they talking or something you know, here, sch..., [makes gesture of everyone leaving quickly] everyone, just a little bit

Marsh: Everyone leaves?

Abel: Yeah [look of mild sadness and slight frustration on his face]

Marsh: Do you, um at church everyone leaves, do you leave then too or do you stay after church and talk to people in Greeley?

Abel: Church in Greeley, there are two people who stand outside who give you the letter, you know? The bulletin letter, sometimes just asking him something about you know, I talk to him but I don't know... yeah, but it is my fault because if I speak well I can communicate with anyone... [looks sad on his face]

Church was a time for Abel and his family to socialize with other community members in Eritrea, he finds this not to be the case in Greeley. While this is not overt racism, it is unwelcoming and perhaps discriminating that no one from the congregation is reaching out to Abel, who is obviously new, alone, and in need of community. Recall Evelyn's point earlier in this chapter regarding the 'peculiar' American cultural behavior of ignoring people on the street and not knowing one's neighbor. As with Abel this negatively effected Evelyn's experience in Greeley. Abel's experience with the congregation leaving so quickly from church is a similar 'peculiar' American cultural behavior that leaves Abel confused, saddened and feeling alone. I think Abel hopes that church would be a place for him to meet other Catholics and create friendships and social networks, but it did not happen. But, unfortunately, Abel internalizes the discriminating behavior of the congregation members by blaming his English skills for being the cause of their excluding behavior.

Abel (interview with author, August, 19, 2015) also finds similar exclusionary problems with UNC students that live in the same apartment complex as him. Abel is 27, and is not too much older than typical university students that gather in large groups at

his apartment complex. He wants to participate with because he likes to socialize with large groups of people. I gathered, however, they do not invite him and he does not ask to participate.

Marsh: ...I was just curious if for you if speaking Tigrinya just helps you kind of feel more relaxed, comfortable and more at home here in the US?

Abel: You know when I get some people, like three or four, when I'm talking when it's two people not so much. But I like the group better because I saw in our apartment the students they sit like that 10 or 15 they sit and talking all the night. And I think, I like these people!

Marsh: You like big groups?

Abel: Yeah they laughing all the night, I like that yeah?

Marsh: So back home in Eritrea did you get together with lots of people often to talk?

Abel: Yeah, lots of people lots of fun and lots of time, but in the USA, not so much

Abel (interview with author, August, 19, 2015) wants to have friends but again he internalizes the negative excluding behaviors of the local Greeley members and blames his English as being the inhibitor of making friends with local Greeley people, or the students in his complex. But, importantly and unfortunately, he also finds from people's reactions that people in his complex are afraid of him. This has negatively affected Abel to a large degree and leaves him confused, alone and sad.

Abel: You know the problem I like to have lots of friends, but the problem is as you know my English is a little bit, I like to talk much people but sometimes when I speak I am afraid I to make mistake, what? What? [people not understand what he says] You know, [laughs] make a mistake, yeah?

Marsh: Yeah, but it is good to practice your English

Abel: It is good but...uh, but you know, the people they do not know me, what I am you now they see my color, am I American? Am I African? It is a problem.

Marsh: It is a problem?

Abel: Sometimes when I see these people they no talk some these people, they don't know me

Marsh: In Greeley?

Abel: When I am at my apartment when I go home, I say "Hi," some people say "Hi," some people are scare, when I come and talk to, how can I speak with these kind of people? Yeah... I am sure that people come from at my apartment are different...Students, all students I think so.

Marsh: UNC [University of Northern Colorado] students?

Abel: Yeah big, students from college...There are not other people at my apartment only students. Maybe they don't know.

Marsh: How does that make you feel when people take it and you say hi and they are scared?

Abel: You know, sometimes if I hear some noise of someone who is coming. I am like uh...I know they are scared but maybe people...is a problem when I come in from work and it is late the ladies are like “ah!”

Marsh: How does that make you feel that they are afraid?

Abel: I am not afraid of anything. But for the people who are afraid from of me for how long, you know?...The people like this they don't know how, they don't know me. I am a refugee. I am not a white person they only see of color I am black someone... I don't mean to go to the place you now with no lights something like that...I don't like that, you know?

Marsh: Not safe?

Abel: I am not afraid of anything, you know? I can go everywhere but most people are scared of me, its no good.

Abel's situation is very telling about local Greeley people initial perceptions of the refugees and immigrants living in Greeley, especially of the ones that are not Hispanic or White. It also highlights that building social bridges with the broader Greeley community is very hard if the local people are unwilling to put forth the effort to include the refugees and immigrants in community activities, or even to say hello and treat them like a fellow neighbor.

My Greeley and Weld County key informants told me of the social and hegemonic complexities of why the local Greeley people more often than not do not include or acknowledge the refugees or immigrants. Much of it has to do with the reality that such interactions can be difficult, tedious, confusing, or even scary. It also takes an open informed person to be willing to open themselves up to people who are very

different, especially in times of much xenophobia against refugees and immigrants.

Greeley, historically, is a segregated city and inter-ethnic relationships were not encouraged. These underlying prejudicial perceptions, beliefs and behaviors still manifest themselves today in the interactions, or lack thereof, between the refugees and immigrants and Greeley community members (Bob Smith, interview with author, July 20, 2015).

Marsh: Do you think they [Greeley community] are welcoming?

Smith: I would say they are not welcoming. I would say they are at least tolerant of them, I don't know about accepting with arms open wide. I saw a very disturbing bumper sticker that I had never seen in my life. It was right up here on 23rd Ave near the library. "Its time to play cowboys and Muslims" ... I don't know if that has anything to do with the refugees here in town, it may have nothing to do with them. It may have to do with ISIS, Al-Qaida, I don't know what that was..."

While this bumper sticker that Smith saw on the back of a large truck may not have been directed at the refugees and immigrants, it still reveals beliefs and perceptions against Muslims that some members of Greeley possess. It may be just a bumper sticker, but it shows underlying segregating and intolerant beliefs that manifest in other ways. Barker, of Weld County, gave a similar explanation of the xenophobic beliefs and perceptions underlying the behaviors of Greeley's local population toward the refugees and immigrants. Fortunately, hate crimes have been few and far between in Greeley which is a step in the right direction (Karin Crandall and Art Barker, interview with author, July 20, 2015).

Marsh: How important do you think it is for general public to know about and making refugees feel welcome?

Barker: To understand the city of Greeley and a rural county is that there is automatic discrimination and suspicion. They look on these folks with suspicion, especially with the controversy with JBS in the rural communities. It is better than in other communities around the country because you don't hear about hate crimes or people being treated poorly.

McConnell (interview with author, August 17, 2015) thinks that many people in Greeley are simply uninformed and unaware of the complexity and diversity of the refugees and immigrants living in Greeley and view them as one homogenous group.

Marsh: ...Do you think a lot of people are just like "oh, its one giant group of refugees" and they don't see these cultural differences that do matter, that sometimes you're not aware of until you get involved?

McConnell: I would say the vast majority of people see it as one thing, and really have no idea of who is in our community, because there is far less talk upfront about the refugee population and what's going on there, I would say the vast majority do not know.

Smith (interview with author, July 20, 2015) expressed a similar idea as discussed by McConnell. He elaborated that he, and he, and probably anyone else from the receiving community, is only able to understand the complexities of the refugees' and immigrants' situations on a large general level and therefore, it is nearly impossible to understand the small idiosyncratic differences that really comprise the cultural differences and situations of each refugee and immigrant now living in Greeley. While it

is hard to understand the complexity of the refugees' and immigrants' situations, he argues that it is up to the receiving community members to reach out to them, put forth the energy, and make friendships with these new people living in Greeley (Bob Smith, interview with author, July 29, 2015).

Marsh: Do you think there's anything else that needs to be done to help the refugees feel more at home here?

Smith: Yeah, but it's hard to make it concrete. Friends, honesty. But it's hard to be friends with people who are very culturally different, linguistically different as well, it's not impossible it takes a special initiative and a lot of initiative to be committed to doing it. Because I think that as we become genuine friends, get me out of the contrived portion, barriers, just kind of go away. We understand each other, and that's by definition friendship, you understand each other and idiosyncrasies, and cultural and sub cultural differences...I think it's... work, but it takes energy. I don't want to call it a mandate but if it's going to happen it's going to happen from the receiving community largely, probably.

This similar concept was argued by McConnell (interview with author, August 17, 2015) and Steiz (interview with author, October 20, 2015) in that it is hard to understand people across cultural differences especially when it's high context versus low context cultural differences. Most of the refugees and immigrants come from high context cultures focusing on the group and community and yet Greeley is a Western low context culture where the focus is individualistic and non-communal. This broad cultural difference underscores the difficulty for both the refugee and immigrant communities to

integrate into Greeley and for the receiving community members to accept and embrace the new members (Jane McConnell, interview with author, August 17, 2015).

Marsh: ...Is there any effort or acknowledgement of the severe isolation, I think for them the isolation is compounded because they come from a completely different world of social interaction. Is there any way to deal with that, or is that being acknowledged at least that it exists?

McConnell: Oh, definitely acknowledged...I think that is not just a difference of refugees but a difference of European Western culture and the rest of the world. So that there is individualism on one side of the spectrum and communal shame on the other. So, I think there is acknowledgement and I don't think anyone knows how to address that other than to encourage the population to think community. Because I do think that isolation is huge, huge!...The church has actually, I think, has had an interesting experience in that regards. Because, um, there are relationships being built in the community but they still produce community groups on their [refugees and immigrants] own outside of that. But there is this expectation of 'no we are helping them, we go, and we go to the birthday parties and to the park' and you know that kind of stuff? So navigating all of that takes time and investment. Courtney and Andy [Steiz] being willing to move into that neighborhood...was huge. There is going to be a meeting in the middle, you know?

Marsh: It's hard?

McConnell: Yeah, and for those of use who don't come from that it's hard to move the other way... "like ok....uurgh, ok I need a little of space"

[both laugh a little]

Marsh: Yeah, we need our space

McConnell: Yeah, and that's ok, that's ok. It is, its just different culture but its just you being and learning to move to the middle.

West (interview with author, October 8, 2015) has too found that many people in Greeley are simply unaware the refugees and immigrants and she and her colleagues try hard to inform and educate the broader Greeley community about the refugees and immigrants and the role of the GRC.

West: As far as the embracing the refugees and stuff like that, there is a huge amount of people in Greeley who don't even we have refugees still. They are still coming to us and saying, "Wow! I didn't even know you existed," or "I didn't know there are refugees here." I see some people around but I didn't know who they were or why they are here. So there's that fact that we are still trying to get that word out there to say that these are friendly people who are not going to hurt you, and they want to be like you and be your neighbor and their safe and screened and all that.

The GRC puts forth much effort inviting the Greeley community to attend activities and information sessions about the refugees, specifically, in how and why they are in the city and about their stories. While there is significant failure at the individual level to build social bridges between the refugees and immigrants and the local Greeley

members, the effort put forth by the GRC does help with educating Greeley members resulting in more people, organization, and church involvement.

6.3 Efforts to educate Greeley's community members

I actually met Barker through the “Walk in Their Shoes” activity put on by the GRC during their open house in June. The GRC puts on “Walk in Their Shoes” for the city and during GRC open house days inviting local Greeley community and government members to come check out the GRC and learn about the refugees and their experiences of losing their homes. “Walk in Their Shoes” is a group activity curriculum created by the UNHCR as a tool to give receiving community members a basic idea of the terror, trials, and difficulties many refugees undergo as they flee their homes and countries. Barker and I were assigned to the same refugee family, he played the father and I played the daughter. We had to work together as a family dealing with explosions, uncertainty, dangerous border crossings (we were separated as a family), and with fighting with others for food rations in the refugee camp. All this is simulated through the GRC staff and classroom space. But it gave us a glimpse into the unbelievable stresses, terror, hardship and trauma many of the refugees living in Greeley underwent to get out of their countries of origin. Activities and open house invitations like this are great opportunities for local Greeley members to become acquainted with the refugees and immigrants. The “Walk in Their Shoes” day I attended was well attended and various people with whom I spoke were from different governmental departments or other service type organizations that have refugees and immigrants as clientele.

During my field work, the GRC held a fundraising celebration called the “A Journey to Hope” that I attended. It was held at Zoe’s Café as an evening reception fit with hors d’oeuvres, drinks, and silent auction. Many of the GRC volunteers and key leaders and members of Greeley’s community who work in some way with the GRC or the refugee and immigrant communities were at this event. A few refugees and immigrants spoke to the audience about the importance of the GRC in their lives; providing them with a community, English language learning, GED and citizenship classes. One person who spoke emphasized the importance of the GRC in providing them with a place of belonging and community. This event is another example of the efforts the GRC makes to inform Greeley about its clientele and advocate on their behalf.

Smith suggested that the community and its leaders need to try to understand the complexities of the refugees and immigrants but, at the same time, to acknowledge the inability to fully comprehend every aspect as natural and inevitable. Smith also explained the importance of partnering with the refugees and immigrants when designing educational and governmental programming and nonprofits, like the GRC, that provide particular services to the refugees and immigrants. In this way, the important cultural needs of the refugee and immigrant situations, not understood by a host community members, are brought into the planning of the nonprofit so that it will better serve the needs of the refugees and immigrants in a way that is relevant to them. But, this is not to say the refugees and immigrants should be left to fend on their own. Rather, it requires the receiving community involvement, understanding, patience, and the willingness to do things in ways that seem culturally foreign, strange, and, perhaps even, chaotic. I found Smith’s perspective fruitful for supporting the notion that refugee and immigrant

informed and directed integration programming as favorable to top down receiving community directed programming because it allows for the refugees and immigrants to integrate in such a way that best suits their unique needs, wants, and situations. Steiz had expressed a similar idea. She said it is important to realize that the immigrants and refugees will integrate in ways that fulfill their needs and unique goals. She said it is the receiving community's job to ask, listen and help them fulfill these integration needs and goals.

Abdi, West and Odiwuor all present needed and helpful information regarding the role of the GRC and the needs of the refugees and immigrants to different governmental and private organizations around Greeley. They also work with the Sunrise Medical Health Clinic, Northern Colorado Medical Center, and with the local fire and police departments to provide translators or mediation on behalf of the refugees and immigrants. The GRC fulfills a much needed role advocating for the refugees and immigrants and acting as a key that helps unlock the door to access for jobs, applying for social services and receiving general community recognition (Colette West and Emily Odiwuor, interview with author, October 8, 2015).

West and Odiwuor (interview with author, October, 8, 2015) also said they find that people who have traveled and experienced cultures very different than their own are the most wanting to help the GRC and volunteer. During my observing and volunteering at the GRC, I found this to be the case that most of the volunteers had traveled to other countries, experienced other cultures, and were aware of international politics, war, and tragedies. As an example, Mary, the volunteer teacher for the ESL level four class travels often and was very aware of the cultural differences among the refugees and immigrants

ethnic groups. I also followed along and observed a University of Northern Colorado Applied Anthropology class that conducted research called the Roots Project (discussed in depth below). I spoke casually with all the UNC students, a few of whom were from Greeley, I found that none of them had known about the GRC or the refugees living in Greeley until they took this Applied Anthropology course. Part of the requirement for the course was volunteering at the GRC. It seems that the people who are unaware of the refugees are not always malevolent or racist, but simply uninformed or unaware. My key informant, Smith (interview with author, July 20, 2015), who helps out at the GRC, said he felt that his travels and experiences with other cultures were crucial in why and how he is involved with the GRC.

Marsh: do you think that the general population of Greeley is aware of the refugees?

Smith: I think they are probably aware

Marsh: That they are here, that they exist at least?

Smith: That they exist...you know, I'm so...its an arrogant way to say this. I think I'm a fairly informed citizen. I've been to other countries, I've traveled the world, I've been to South Asia, I probably have a higher level of world awareness than the average person in Greeley. I really don't understand it [the complexities of the Greeley refugees' situations, diversities, needs] either....

The efforts put forth by the GRC and various partnerships with different churches in Greeley have provided social bridges at an institutional level which have trickled down to a certain degree at the individual level. But, what I found during observation and many

of my interviews is that regardless of the efforts of churches, especially Christ Community, and the GRC, there are still issues of few social bridges at an individual level.

One exception is the story of Courtney (interview with author, October 20, 2015) and Andy Steiz, a young couple who live in the same apartment buildings as a community of Karen and Karenni refugees in Evans. The information I have regarding the Steizs' experience and living situation came from my interview with Courtney. When I am referring to Steiz I am referring to Courtney Steiz.

6.4 Building Social Bridges – Courtney and Andy Steiz

Courtney Steiz and her husband Andy live in the same apartment complex as many of the Karen and Karenni refugees living in Evans, a small town bordering Greeley. Courtney and Andy have built relationships with them, and helped them navigate the institutional complexities of hospitals, government services and job employment (Courtney Steiz, interview with author, October 20, 2015). West (interview with author, October 8, 2015) had told me that she finds the religious people and churches of Greeley are the most helpful, giving and willing to volunteer. The Steizes are a good example of this. They attend Christ Community and had been very involved in various community outreach programs during their time at UNC. They were approached by Christ Community three years ago and asked to live in the Pines Apartments to build meaningful relationships and provide tutoring and general help for the refugees living in these apartments. In a way the Steizes provide the same sort of services on an individual relational level that the GRC provides at an institutional level. Christ Community paid the

rent for the Steiz to live with the refugee population in the Pines Apartments and funded the resource center held in another apartment at the Pines Apartments (Courtney Steiz, interview with author, October 20, 2015).

Steiz: About three and half years ago now, my husband and I moved into the pines apartments off of 23rd Ave. Christ Community Church ran a resource center in a second apartment. My husband is a teacher and he worked during the day, I ran the resource center during the day doing after school tutoring and getting people to the DMV...

Eventually Pines Apartments updated the apartments and increased their rent. Consequently, the refugees living in the Pines Apartments moved out. The Karenni and some Karen moved to the State Farm Apartments in Evans, located off of 11th Ave and near to highway 34. The Steizes followed the Karenni and continued providing support to them and building relationships. With the change of location, Christ Community no longer continued its resource center and stopped paying the rent for the Steizes. But they hired Courtney Steiz part time to lead the Christ Community International Church. The Christ Community International Church was intended to be a multi-ethnic congregation and it attracted the Karenni that got to know Courtney. Now it is predominantly Karenni (Courtney Steiz, interview with author, October 20, 2015).

Steiz:...Also, I was involved in leadership team in multi-site plan. I don't know the exact terminology but it was with Christ Community and their desire was to be or have a multi-ethnic congregation. The leadership team was very diverse...and then a lot of the specific Karenni we knew from the apartment started coming.

Steiz emphasized to me that she and Christ Community tried to instill a non-patronizing program and relationships by having it be a mutual give and take type of relationship between her and her husband and the Karenni. She views them as neighbors who give her help and care as much as they receive help from her providing a gateway into Greeley. During my interview with Courtney I realized the effort and energy, as acknowledged and described by Smith, required to build meaningful social bridges with the refugees and immigrants (Courtney Steiz, interview with author, October 20, 2015).

Steiz: In terms of what's been hard, the cross-cultural stuff is pretty hard. I'm pretty extroverted and outgoing, and the Karenni are much more reserved. And I am trying to learn to pay attention to when they are giving me cues. But it's been exciting and not a hard or bad challenge. The food is different and that took some getting use to. I enjoy some of it but some not as much. A lot of it I really enjoy. It has created some areas of poverty in my own community and I don't live with people who are like me and that can be more challenging than you might think.

Living with people who are different that herself is not easy, especially with cross-cultural differences. Steiz grew up in an upper middle class household but the apartment she and her husband live in is small and has the same bug infestations problems. But, through it all, she cared very much about her new neighbors and highlighted the importance of it being a give and take relationship, not just giving (Courtney Steiz, interview with author, October 20, 2015).

Steiz:...I got to know the people as neighbors, which is really important to me especially considering my degree... It's not this service provider service recipient program. Rather, growing up here I have access to things that they don't and I am helping them gain access to it. That was really our heart, and I have gained so much and learned so much from them. It's all about being a neighbor and welcoming them to our community.

One key thing about the importance of building social bridges that needs to be highlighted from this excerpt is when Steiz said, "...I have access to things that they don't and I am helping them gain access to it..." Social Bridges is one of the crucial ways the refugees and immigrants can have basic *access* to institutions and structures, and in addition, the cultural norms that surround, infiltrate, and encode these institutions and structures. Without her help, some of the Karenni she knows would not have had the help figuring out doctors visits, hospital care, and applying for Medicaid or jobs. The Steizes provide crucial information in how to navigate American systems, institutions, and cultural norms. But this is not to say that the Steizes receive nothing from the Karenni. Rather Steiz feels that she has a caring and wonderful community of people that she and her husband need to provide them as neighbors (Courtney Steiz, interview with author, October 20, 2015).

Steiz:... but going in and out of the neighborhood it was like constant culture shock. Because I am in this community who doesn't have much and I come out of that and go to my parents' house for Thanksgiving. I wrestled for a long time about questions of poverty and health and why some people have so much and why some have so little.

Marsh: What did you figure out?

Steiz: Well, I think I'm learning, kind of like what we talked about before.

Everyone is poor in different areas. So if I'm materially rich part of my calling is to share that but I also need to recognize my own areas of poverty and allow others to see that and speak into that and if I'm open and honest about the areas of my life I need help there's not this paternalistic relationship. If I am receiving and I am aware of it and I am affirming all that I am receiving from those people, then I get just as much as I give.

Marsh: It makes you equal?

Steiz: It makes you equal and then you create relationship, community, and kinship. Its not about I provide a service for you. It's you are my neighbor and I love you and you love me and you helped me here and so I'll help you there and no one is keeping score.

Steiz's experience of living, helping, and receiving help from the Karenni underscores what real social bridges must include, a mutual neighborly give and take. In a way, she and the Karenni are building real social networks, community and relationships through various forms of social capital exchange. I do not mean to use this term to reduce what is happening here but rather explain that for a real community to be built among the refugees, immigrants, and broader Greeley community, social exchange has to occur. Without it, it becomes a paternalistic relationship or welfare beneficiary system, and not a real community where integration can thrive. Finally, it is important to highlight from the Steiz's situation is that their own *habitus* changed, quite drastically, in

order to make space and exchange possible for relationships to be built with the Karenni. I am not arguing that the average Greeley person needs to put forth the energy that the Steizes do, but there is something to be said that Greeley's local community's *habitus* has to change and be open to receiving the various things the refugees and immigrants have to offer Greeley and its community members in order for integration to occur and a diverse community to be built (Courtney Steiz, interview with author, October 20, 2015).

It was during my talk with Courtney (interview with author, October 20, 2015) where some major concepts that were emerging throughout my fieldwork and literature research fully developed into understanding what integration means and should look like. Steiz emphasized that while she appreciates the 'heart' of community members who have ideas or second hand goods that they want to give to the refugee and immigrant community, she cautions and advises that they do not need what we want to give them but rather we need to ask them what they need and want from the broader community. From her time with the Karenni and leading the Christ Community International Church, she has found all they really want is to live life in their cultural way, have a decent job that allows them to provide for their children, and be in relationships and community with the people of Greeley (Courtney Steiz, interview with author, October 20, 2015).

6.5 Building Social Bridges Through Heritage and History –

The Roots Project

I was a part of an undergraduate applied anthropology course at the University of Northern Colorado (UNC) with Dr. Michael Kimball in 2013 where we worked on his applied anthropology research called the Roots Project. This was the first year of the

project and it aimed at helping the “newcomer” population, consisting of immigrants and refugees living in Greeley, integrate through learning about Greeley’s history and heritage exemplified by the Centennial Village Museum (CVM). The goal of the Roots Project was to do just that, help the refugees and immigrants begin to establish roots here through a better understanding of the history of the city and its members so that they could relate better to their new home.

While I was doing my field work this past summer, I contacted Dr. Kimball and he informed me the Roots Project was taking place again and that I was welcome to observe and causally interview participants for my master’s thesis. He also gave me permission to use the past data I collected for the original Roots Project in 2013. He encouraged me to contact Scott Chartier, a manager for the museums, to see if I could observe the Roots Project and the CVM planning meetings, which I did. I observed the CVM Roots Project planning and follow up meetings, the Roots Project day, and followed up with the UNC students who participated in this class during their presentations at the UNC Symposium and at the Roots Project Reception. I also followed up with one immigrant key informant, Debretsion, who participated in the Roots Project visit and is also employed by the GRC (mentioned in previous chapters). I am including some interview data I gathered from a Burmese refugee family when I took the Applied Anthropology course at UNC in 2013. I have the permission from Dr. Kimball to use this interview and it is in accordance with the UNC IRB approval of the 2013 Roots Project research (Dr. Michael Kimball, personal communications with author).

From my observation during the CVM Roots Project planning meeting I found concerns of inclusion of and collaboration with the newcomer population, and the need to

sustain Greeley's heritage through certain CVM programming. Additionally, the Roots Project is a collaborative effort amongst the City of Greeley Museums, the Global Refugee Center (GRC), and the University of Northern Colorado's Department of Anthropology. The project seeks not to just study the refugees' and immigrants' reactions to the museums as a goal of research, but rather to incorporate local refugee and immigrant community members while providing an avenue of interaction, integration, and community building. Furthermore, the Centennial Village Museum staff is hoping to expand programming, not just for the sake of grants or number of visitors, but rather to use the museum as a way to invite these new members of Greeley to learn, experience and share heritage.

Centennial Village is a living heritage museum comprised of original buildings and artifacts that were collected from Northern Colorado and organized into an actual village. CVM is a part of the identity building of Greeley in a similar way as discussed by Timothy (2011) in how cities and nations use major archaeological sites to create and instill city and national identity. Many of the buildings are the original homes of some of the first major contributors to Greeley's history and the artifacts either belonged to those people or are representations of traditional life ways, farming practices, or nuanced pieces of Greeley's history. However, what the museum historical representations now lack is an inclusion of the history of the immigrant and refugee cultures, heritages, and settlement in Greeley.

Mr. Chartier, recognized the need to change the museum's discourse to encourage the refugee and immigrant population to come and visit, learn, and relate to the local history. While the actual displays have not yet changed to reflect the heritage of the

refugee/immigrant community there are other efforts to make the history relevant and relatable. As an example, Mr. Chartier encouraged his staff and volunteers to tell stories focusing on the original immigrant integration history of Greeley. In this way the history would be more relatable and relevant to the refugee/immigrant visitors because it emphasizes that Greeley was founded by and benefited from a diverse immigrant population.

The CVM found other clever ways during the Roots Project visit to engage the refugee/immigrant community not only through use of Greeley's own immigration heritage, but by also emphasizing the diversity of the immigrants and their 'working together' mentality that encouraged families' settlement into the community. The project also discusses both small and large contributions made to the local community by immigrants. Examples of small contributions made by immigrants were sprinkled throughout the museum , some of which revolved around food. The Spanish Colonia house celebrates the Mexican/Hispanic heritage contributions to Greeley and at the same time also acknowledges the segregation of these historic communities from Greeley. The volunteer in the Spanish Colonia house was making hot fresh tortillas for everyone to taste an aspect of the Mexican/Hispanic cultural heritage contributions to Greeley. I was following the East African group whose members were from Kenya and Rwanda and I tried to relate the tortillas to the Kenyans by telling them that tortillas are very similar to chipatis, a Kenyan widely consumed slightly sweet flat bread. They agreed that the tortillas were like chipatis in texture and look, but were saltier.

The Roots Project is successful in its goal of bridging and relating history and heritage between Greeley and the refugee and immigrant communities, especially for the

older participants. Dr. Kimball and I conversed with Debretsion, an older Ethiopian immigrant, after the Roots Project tour had finished and everyone had gathered in the central square of the CVM to eat lunch and discuss the tour. Debretsion said he really liked the museum and felt it was ‘good.’ He talked at length about how certain practices were very similar to how things were done when he was young in Ethiopia, such as blacksmithing. He also elaborated on how certain things we consider old technology he considers new because they are either needed in Ethiopia or still in use. As an example, he explained how the iron stove is new to him, even though it seems old to Dr. Kimball and me, because it contained the fire and directed the smoke away from the users face. In Ethiopia, however, he said, many people still cook over open fire, which is dangerous and hazardous, with the smoke blowing in their faces. Dr. Kimball and I listened to Debretsion for about 25 minutes after the tour as he explained various things that were similar and different between the cultural practices represented by the museum and his life in Ethiopia. He reflected mostly on how he perceived many of the cultural practices and technologies as new because they are still used in Ethiopia (Debretsion and Dr. Michael Kimball, interview with author, October 10, 2015).

The Roots Project sparked discussions comparing changing gender roles over time and place between Kenya and the United States. Toward the end of the CVM Roots Project tour, I was talking with one of the Kenyan men in the group I was following (interview with author, October 10, 2015). I was inquiring as to his overall thoughts regarding the museum, Greeley’s history, and the visit. He specifically brought up his interest in learning about the more defined traditional gender roles that used to exist in Greeley as displayed by the museum and explained by the staff. This led to an interesting

conversation regarding changing gender roles and his perceptions of how it effects society. He expressed that he is concerned with the breakdown of traditional gender roles in Kenya causing a lack of a clear divide between what are women's roles and men's roles within the family, village and broader Kenya. He said that he thinks the 'moral breakdown' in the United States was linked to the 'breakdown' in gender roles and gender divides and this was something he found disappointing and worrisome about the United States. He worried that a similar 'moral breakdown' is occurring in Kenya because of the changing gender roles. But he was encouraged to see that traditional gender roles were a part of Greeley's recent history.

I did not offer my opinion to this man regarding what he said because I wanted to understand his perceptions of the history and understand how these were triggered by the visit to the museum. I bring our conversation into the discussion at hand because it highlights that the Roots Project is more than just embracing the cultural and immigrant similarities between Greeley history and the refugees and immigrants, but it also provides an avenue through which members of the local community and the immigrants and refugees can discuss controversial topics, issues, and differences Then each can learn about other's contrasting opinions. While I, as a previous local member of Greeley, disagreed with what this man said in regards to the 'moral breakdown' of the U.S.A. being linked to 'breakdown' in traditional gender roles, I found his point fascinating because it highlights an important perspective and cultural difference on gender, gender roles, and gender divides and how these relate to and effect changes in society. While the similarities need to be celebrated, so to do the differences need to be discussed,

understood, and embraced to better deal with current or future conflict. Differences of perspective of the functions of society and its members are important.

The Burmese refugee family I interviewed back in 2013 really enjoyed the entire Roots Project experience and encounter because of how similar various technologies and cultural practices are between Greeley's history and current Burmese ways of living. The father of the family spoke mostly on behalf of his family and his daughter translated for us. The site that resonated the most with him and his family was the sawpit. He said that in Burma they used the same technology to cut bamboo for building materials. He drew me a picture describing how it was similar and different. This Burmese family showed me the main reason why I feel the Roots Project is successful. He and his family were so glad and grateful to finally have someone from the local community of Greeley invite them to partake in an activity, teach them about their new home, and engage with them in a conversation about their past experiences. If anything, it is the simple act of inviting, including, conversing, questioning, and understanding that facilitates the integration occurring during the orchestration of the Roots Project (Roots Project Participant, interview with author, October 5, 2013).

Odiwuor, (interview with author, October 8, 2015) currently works for the GRC but use to work for the City of Greeley Museums and was involved in the Roots Projects in the past and the current one. This is what she said in regards to the Roots Project:

Marsh: A couple years ago with UNC I worked with Dr. Kimball on the Roots Project. And I know this Saturday they are doing another visit, I'll be there. I am working with Scott Chartier. But how do you guys think

about the Roots Project and the museums efforts to build that bridge and make that connection?

Odiwuor: Well this is funny because I use to work for the museum and now I work for the GRC so its come full circle for me. I think its been really beneficial, and I never really thought it would be to be honest because a lot of our refugee/immigrant population are not necessarily interested in going to museums and stuff like that. But once the participants get there they seem like they are really interested and they have a lot in common and they want to give feedback and it really is providing a forum to be able to listen to them. Often they don't have the chance, especially if they are the older immigrant/refugee community members, they often do not have the chance to tell their story, so to have someone sit there with them asking them specific questions in really wanting to hear about their history and their home just really encourages them at the end of the day. And then all the [UNC] students have been volunteering here this semester and they have been really involved in classes. Some of them want to continue volunteering after they are done. And anyone who steps into this center is then able to be an advocate in the community after that and so that is just that many more people...that will be able to go out and share the story of our center, our community. And a perspective of who Greeley was 100, 200 years ago its not always been European immigrants, its been a diversity of immigrants, South America, an Asian immigrants and that's still true. I have really enjoyed it.

Originally she thought the project would not be successful because usually the refugee and immigrants are not interested in traditional museums but she found that the CVM really became an avenue through which the refugees and immigrants could be engaged and be able to tell about their history and culture. She feels that this is the most important part of the Roots Project in that it provides an interaction between locals and newcomers that allows the locals to listen to and learn from the newcomers themselves (Colette West and Emily Odiwuor, interview with author, October 8, 2015). It also introduces the UNC students to the GRC and the refugee and immigrant communities which is important for building cross ethnic relationships and communities. Finally, it is crucial for having more local members to advocate on behalf of the refugees and immigrants.

The CVM has also developing new forms of media to make the museum and its heritage and history more accessible and thus relevant to the refugee/immigrant community. The CVM hopes to hire translators for the next summer months to enhance the accessibility of the history to this population (CVM staff meetings, October 8, 2015). Hence, the consumerism (Mortenson and Nicholas 2010) via the Roots Project Visit by eating traditional foods, seeing artifacts and buildings, and learning about the history and heritage related to these sites, via translation, helps to (re)instill a sense of Greeley's heritage and identity (Timothy 2011).

The CVM had considered ways in which to include and represent the newcomer populations in the museum in the past, but unfortunately the staff heading this initiative has since left the museum. The CVM is still considering the option of exhibitions or displays created by and representative of the refugees' and immigrants' heritage, but

unfortunately no real initiative has been undertaken to make that happen. Some of this is due to a lack of overall funding for the museums. I hope that someday the museums will implement this idea because it would be a great avenue for integration, expanding potential job opportunities, and building community relationships. It would also benefit the CVM because it would expand its programming and heritage tourism.

The Roots Project has only occurred three times over three years and therefore the long-term impact of it is still unknown. However, participants said they were glad to come and see the CVM and wanted to bring their family and friends to it in the future. It is still unclear as to the real impact the Roots Project has had on the refugee and immigrant communities. If anything, it facilitates a place of engaging, and learning about each other for the local and refugee and immigrant communities. Most of the UNC students I conversed with during the UNC Symposium said that learning about (most did not know that Greeley had a refugee/immigrant population, even the local Greeley UNC students), and interacting and engaging with the refugee and immigrant community through the Roots Project and the GRC was very impacting on them, and they hoped to continue building social relationships with them into the future. Small changes and impacts are relevant comparing the CVM of three years ago with the continued discussion about expanding refugee and immigrant representation and programming in museum, and continuing the Roots Project for the next year.

The Roots Project highlights how important collaboration efforts are at various levels of government and across institutions, both public and private, to encourage inclusivity of the refugee and immigrant communities and to facilitate integrating them into Greeley. This also emphasizes the many ways in which integration can occur such as

building connections to Greeley as a new home via history and experience. The Roots Project, through the collaboration efforts of the CVM, the UNC Applied Anthropology course, and the GRC brings together members of Greeley's local community and newcomer community to talk and share heritage and history. It also highlights the importance of understanding heritage and history to facilitate better community relationships and place building for the newcomer population.

The collaboration of the City of Greeley Museums, UNC's Department of Anthropology, and the Global Refugee Center in the formation of the Roots Project and the facilitation of integration through interaction with and learning about Greeley's history, exemplifies the arguments for museums to engage with other 'non-traditional' populations, like the refugee and immigrant communities. While the CVM has not yet included representations of the refugees' and immigrant's heritage, it is using new technologies and programming to reach out to and include these communities in Greeley's heritage and identity, thus inviting them to put down their roots in this Northern Colorado city.

Chapter Seven

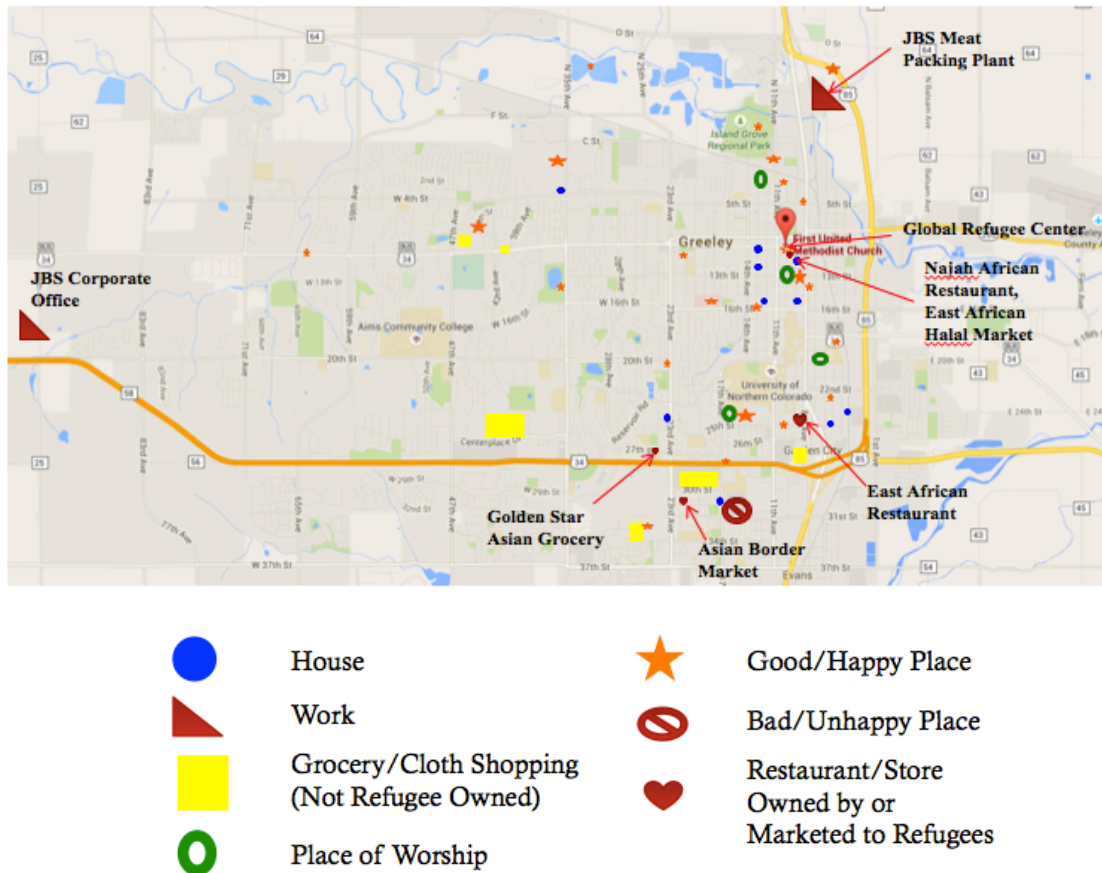
Findings: Place and Greeley's Urban Landscape

The historical segregation of Greeley's Hispanic population was based primarily on race and secondarily on economic status (Chase 2011), while current day segregation of refugees is based, from what I have found, predominately on economic status and secondarily on race. I argue that some prejudice, which includes possible racist ideologies, practices, and strategies, still dictates the implicit treatment of the refugees and immigrants by Greeley members. This probable prejudice is reproduced and augmented by the spatial layout of Greeley. These collective strategies position the refugees and immigrants to live in a particular part of town. What is constant between the spatialization of these labor groups, historical Hispanic and contemporary refugee and immigrant, is the similar geographic locations and juxtaposition in which they live, congregate, work, and shop. Furthermore, the refugees' economic status and particularities imprint the urban landscape with their ethnic enclaves (Kaplan and Li 2006).

7.1 Cognitive Map Results

The political divisions of territory that split up Greeley's urban landscape and currently affect the spatial realities of the refugees and immigrants now living in Greeley are examined through the use of Cognitive Mapping (Hayden 1995a:23). The cognitive

mapping exercise (October 26, 2015) was conducted with my key informants and members of the Level 4 ESL class at the GRC, all of who volunteered for the exercise. I asked them causal follow up questions about their maps which helped inform my analysis of their maps. For the cognitive mapping data collection I looked for specific types of religious institutions (mosques, synagogues etc.), restaurants, grocery stores, places of work, semipublic/semiprivate places of congregating and housing to better understand the location of the refugees in Greeley's historical, political, economic landscape (Hayden 1995a:34-35). I asked them to mark on a map, identical to the one below, their home, where they work, shop, worship or attend a religious place, and what places are good/happy and what place are bad/unhappy using symbols similar to the ones shown (See **Map 4** below).



Map 4: Compilation of all Refugee and Immigrant Cognitive Maps

(October 26, 2015) Including Refugee owned/targeted Businesses

Note: I inserted the JBS Corporate Office to show its location is far away from the refugee and immigrant ‘enclave’, discussed below.

The results of the cognitive maps of my refugee and immigrant key informants reveal a concentrated area of places in which they feel happy, live, work, congregate and shop. Notice how these places are concentrated east of 23rd avenue. Twenty-third avenue

is an avenue that runs north and south and was determined by my local Greeley key informants to be the dividing line between the west and east sides of Greeley. This was confirmed in my cross sectional drive of Greeley. The further west I drove past 23rd avenue the wealthier, white, affluent and newly developed the city became. In contrast, as I drove east of 23rd, the opposite occurred where the city became less affluent, more poor, and run down. Barker (interview with author, July 20, 2015) expressed to me that he feels one of the major reasons why the west side of Greeley is more affluent is because the new development, new housing, and new businesses are all built out west, or west of 23rd avenue. For the most part I found this to be true during my cross sectional drive.

Emphasizing this point, notice that the JBS corporate office is located on the very western outskirts of Greeley and yet the meat packing plant is on the most north and east side of the city. I added the JBS Corporate Office Marker to results of the Refugee and immigrant Cognitive Map in order to show how the headquarters of the meat packing plant is strategically placed on the white, wealthier side of Greeley. The corporate-level jobs at the JBS offices are for highly educated, affluent people, and the office is situated in part of the city these people are most likely to reside (or even farther west in Ft Collins or Loveland). Yet, the meat packing plant, employing the refugees and immigrants, is positioned in the poorer, less white side of Greeley. Similarly, the positioning of the meat packing plant in the northeast part of the city perpetuates isolating the refugees and immigrants from key social and corporate connections that could aid in upwards mobility.

The specialization, or the concentration of certain groups into key industries, (Kaplan and Li 2006:3) of refugees and immigrants working for the JBS meatpacking

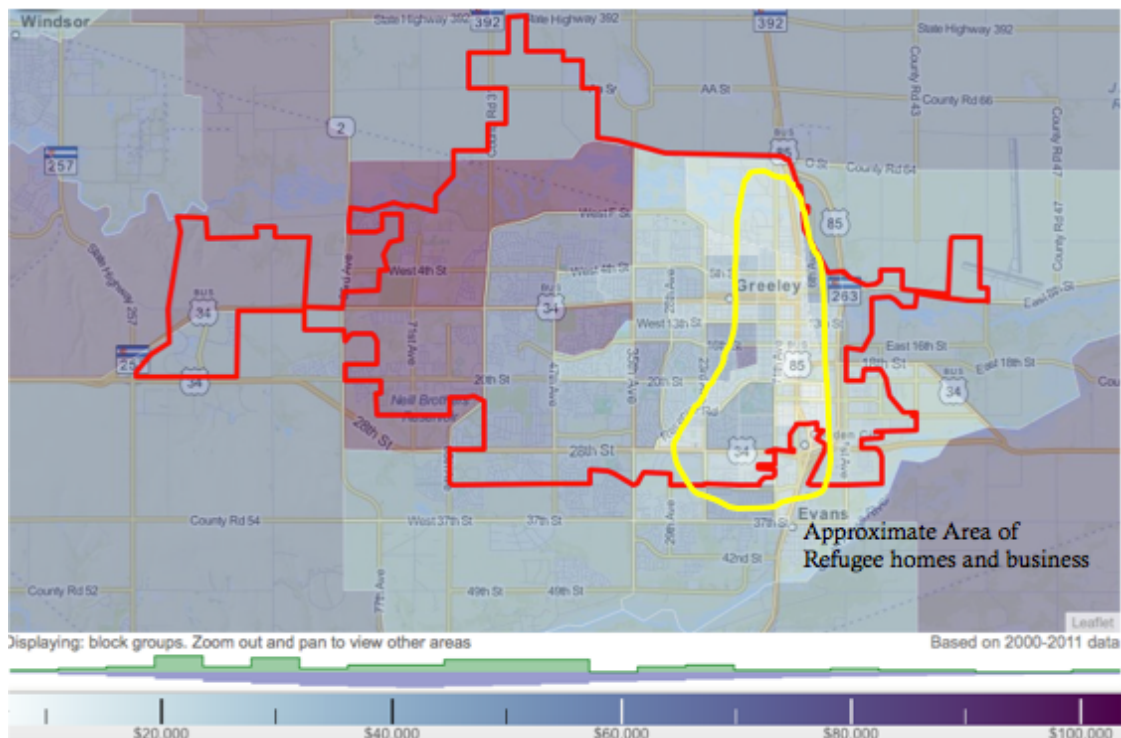
plant (Heffel 2013; Murray 2013) has lead to the unintended integration of the refugees into the historical, sociospatial, segregated landscape. The low level of skills required for employment at JBS benefits the refugees and immigrants greatly, but it also imposes Greeley's economic interests onto the refugees (Kaplan and Li 2006). Furthermore, their work concentrates them in a particular location, in this case, the north and east portions of Greeley, leaving them mostly out of view of the rest of affluent Greeley.

An effort is underway on the part of the City of Greeley to upgrade the eastern side of the city. As I drove into Greeley from Denver throughout the duration of my field work, I would drive up 8th avenue and noticed it was under continuous heavy construction building a complete new road with a median of trees and new light posts. New additions of modern art pieces, large blooming flower pots and nice signage dotted the sidewalks along 8th avenue. I learned from my key informants that the city is trying to better this part of the city through this and other efforts.

Also important to note is how the places lived and frequented by my refugee and immigrant key informants boarder US 85 (colored yellow in map) and US34 (colored orange in map). These places are located in the backward 'L' shape where US 34 meets (running east and west) intersects with US 85 (running north and south). US 85 runs along the historical western boarder of the Spanish Colony revealing that the immigrants' and refugees' places fall in between the historically segregated white and Hispanic portions of Greeley.

Again, I should point out that I did not find evidence of overt racial discrimination making this spatial reality. Rather it seems to be linked to the fact that because the current median income levels are the lowest in this part of Greeley, the associated cost of housing

is the cheapest and most affordable in which the refugees and immigrants can live and set up businesses (according to my local Greeley key informants). Map 5 shows the median household income with the lighter colors ranging toward lesser median incomes. I have circled in yellow the area of Greeley where most of my key informants live, congregate, worship, shop and where the ethnic shops and restaurants are located.



Map 5: Median Household Income per Census Block. 2000-2011.

(“Greeley, Colorado”)

Note: Refugee/Immigrant Enclave outlined in yellow

This same sentiment was expressed by Steiz during our interview (October 20, 2015). Recall that Steiz and her husband live with the Karenni community in Evans. She believes one of the major reasons why many local people in Greeley are unaware of the

refugee and immigrant population is due to the spatial segregation as divided by 23rd avenue. She also expressed that cost of housing is a major driver of why the refugees and immigrants live in certain areas.

Marsh: What is your opinion on Greeley's general population and their awareness of the refugees?

Steiz: Low...I think most people don't even know they are here...especially most of the refugees live east or way out east so if you live out west and if you go to charter school or a private school I don't know where you'd cross paths with them

Marsh: By how far what do you mean?

Steiz: I'd say east of 23rd [avenue] and most east of 17th [avenue] and I'd say their are some, Evans right, so this side of 34 [south of US 34 is Evans], this whole section [drawing on map, red line in Map 6], and maybe more North of 10th [street]. It'll go a little more west, but I'm not totally sure, but its pretty good, roughly.

Marsh: How far east do you think they go?

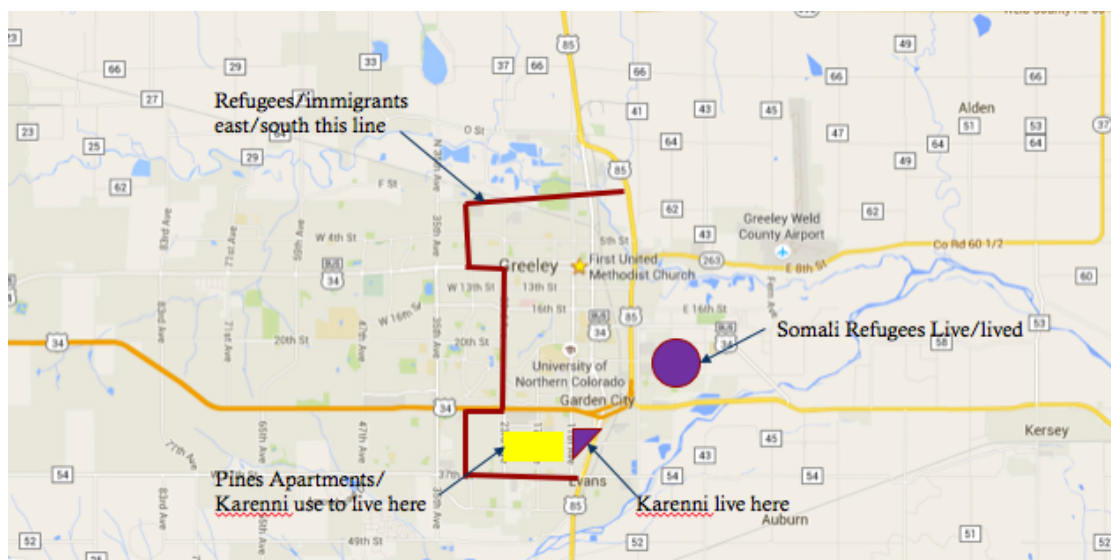
Steiz: I'm not sure about that, we use to have some east of 85 [US 85], but now everyone is west of 85 [US 85], no that's not true some Somali families live east of 85 [US 85, draws on map]. I hope you didn't need this map

Marsh: No, I hoped you would draw on it ...

The areas as drawn out by Steiz on the map noted is shown below in Map 6.

Notice how the area determined by Steiz reflects the results of the cognitive maps, and also is situated in and around the backwards of 'L' of US 34 and US 85 intersection.

Steiz marked 23rd avenue as the dividing line between the east and west sides of Greeley. As she explained in our interview (October 20, 2015), for local members of Greeley who live west of this line, it is very unlikely they will ever cross paths with the refugees or immigrants residing in the eastern part of the city. McConnell (interview with author, August 17, 2015) shared a similar opinion that most local members of Greeley who live on the west side of Greeley rarely come to the east side of the city which further spatially separates and therefore segregates the refugees and immigrants from the larger Greeley community.



Map 6: Area outline of where refugees and immigrants live as drawn by

Courtney Steiz (interview with author, October 20, 2015)

While the current reasons why the refugees and immigrants live, shop and work in this part of town are related to cost of living, it is important to understand that this current reality was created by the historical segregation of the city making this part of the city the

most affordable area for my key informants. Though I have found no evidence of explicit racism against the refugees or immigrants, there is evidence of implicit racism through lack of social connections necessary for upward mobility. This lack of social connection is produced and reproduced by their physical location within the historically segregated sections of Greeley. As Hayden (1995a) discusses, spatial, class segregation is found in small things, places and actions. "The spatial dimensions of class can be illuminated by looking at other boundaries and points of access" (Hayden 1995a:23). A main point of access to the broader community is through social bridges but with cost of living being unaffordable for them outside this area such points of access are mostly unavailable to them.

7.2 Imprinting the Urban Landscape

The refugees and immigrants recently started making their imprint on the urban landscape of Greeley. They have opened ethnic food restaurants and markets and many of them congregate at the Global Refugee Center. The refugee and immigrant population lives, shops and works in the parts of Greeley bordering the main areas that are historically and currently mostly Hispanic.

Urban landscapes bear imprints of ethnic groups via material and non-material symbols, social relations and interactions. Many ethnic enclaves don't build new buildings in terms of ethnic architecture (Hayden 1995a:34) but rather they impact the cultural landscape of a region with new language, food, custom, dress, settlement and labor patterns, and social organization (Berry and Henderson 2002:7-8; Hayden 1995a:34). Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge the refugees' and immigrants'

power and agency to transform and imprint their identities on Greeley's urban landscape thus contesting the historical segregated context of the city.

It is important to understand that the history of a landscape includes the process of transformation and legitimization of ethnicity that reinforces a group's identity (Berry and Henderson 2002:7-8). Visible landscape markers increase the refugees' abilities to maintain cultural attributes such as food preferences from their countries of origin. And as these cultural attributes change the new landscape in which they now live, the meanings and values of such material and non-material culture change as well. "Identity has been reflected in the dynamic cultural landscape. Over time, elements of material and nonmaterial culture assume new meanings as they enter the local landscape" (Berry and Henderson 2002:8). Hence, places that the refugees can eat food, speak in a language, wear clothing, and participate in cultural rituals that resembles the cuisine and culture of their homeland, reaffirms their ethnic identity, and by being situated in the context of Greeley, alters it as well.

Ethnic economies clearly conform to and at the same time contest the segregated urban landscape of Greeley. Immigrants are well known for being very entrepreneurial (Kaplan and Li 2006:3) and this is true of the refugees in Greeley. The ethnic proprietorship economy, which is the extent to which members of an ethnic group are self-employed (Kaplan and Li 2006), conforms and yet contests the sociospatially-segregated landscape (Low 2000) of Greeley. These small businesses owned and operated by some of the refugees and immigrants conforms to the sociospatial realities of current day Greeley because these business are located in the lower-economic portions of Greeley that border the historical and current Hispanic ethnic enclave. However, these

small businesses are a way of contesting the space (Low 2000:129) by using material and non-material cultural symbols, such as language and food (Hayden 1995a). Michel de Certeau's concept of resistance as "ways of operating" is helpful in elaborating the use of business as contesting the current landscape. People resist by "ways of operating" because they reappropriate space and use it in their own socio-cultural ways expressed in everyday life and practices (Low 2000:129).

The refugee owned ethnic markets and business (Kaplan and Li 2006) of Greeley include the Global Refugee Center and a few East African and Asian restaurants and markets. Besides Asad Abid founding the East African Community Center (EACC) (now the GRC), other refugees and immigrants have also started businesses. Abdi Warsame Abdirahman, a Somali refugee, who first arrived in Minnesota in 2006, opened the The Najah African Restaurant and the East African Halal Market in 2012 (Sperry 2015). He worked for JBS for a time to save money, but recognized Greeley lacked grocery stores and restaurants targeting the refugee population. He opened his restaurant so that there would be a place for East African and Middle Eastern cuisine. He estimates the refugees, most of who work for JBS, make up around 60-70% of his customers. Farah Rashid, Abdirahman's son, runs the restaurant, cooking, cleaning, and serving. He said, "I love working here. I get to eat here seven days a week" (Sperry 2015). I ate at the Najah restaurant during my cross sectional drive. (for further discussion see subsection 1.4 Refugee and Immigrant Owned Businesses in the Findings: Employment, Housing, Home, Safety and Language Chapter).



Photo 1: The Najah African Restaurant (Sperry 2015).

Abdi Kadir owns the East African Restaurant, located in a converted burrito restaurant, and he established the business to also meet the tastes of the Somali community (Olszewski 2010).



Photo 2: The East African Restaurant (Olszewski 2010).

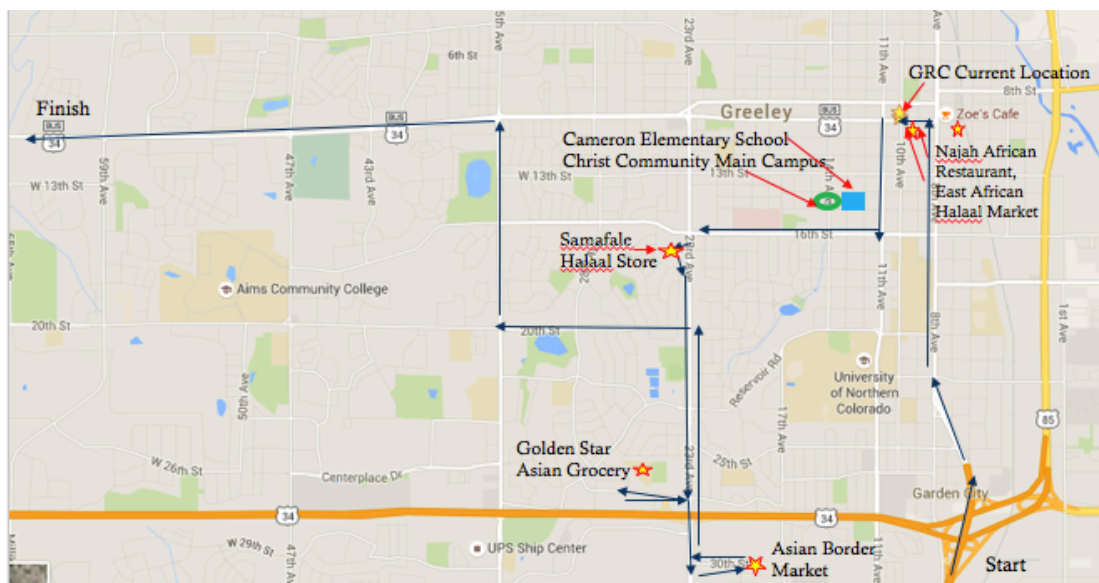
The other businesses catering to the tastes of the refugees are the Asian Border

Market (“Asian Border Market”) and the Golden Star Asian Grocery (“Golden Star Asian Grocery”), both of which I visited during my cross sectional drive. All of these businesses were started by refugees or immigrants who came to Greeley to work for JBS who then saw the various needs of the refugees that they could answer by opening their own businesses.

These businesses as “ways of operating” (Low 2000:129) through language, food, and by transforming the interior and exterior of the buildings (Hayden 1995a:34) contest and resist (Low 2000:129; Hayden 1995a:34) the segregated sociospatial context of Greeley. At the same time, they establish ethnic identities thus transforming the urban landscape (Kaplan and Li 2006). As shown by the Map 4, these businesses are spatially concentrated to the residences and other businesses of the refugees and immigrants making a strong case for a refugee and immigrant enclave economy and a transformation of Greeley’s urban landscape (Kaplan and Li 2006:4).

Map 7 shows my cross sectional drive and the places I stopped along the way to experience the refugee and immigrant owned restaurants and stores. I came into Greeley via US 85 heading north and merged onto 8th avenue. My first stop was at the GRC where I observed the center in its daily activities. I then walked to Zoe’s to observe the space where the Christ Community Internal Church, Karen Baptist Church, and Spanish-speaking congregation meet on Sundays. I then walked back to the Najah African Restaurant where I had lunch (discussed further in subsection 1.4 Refugee and Immigrant Owned Businesses in Chapter Findings: Findings: Employment, Housing, Home, Safety and Language). I then got in my car and continued my cross sectional drive, first stopping at the Samafale Halaal Store where I looked around, observed the products offered and

spoke briefly with the woman working at the store. I then drove on to the Golden Star Asian Grocery, and then the Asian Border Market. I went into each store to observe and casually converse with the people running the stores. Then I drove past the Pines Apartments which are located right behind the Asian Border Market. As I was leaving this part of town and continued going further west past 23rd avenue I noticed a significant decrease in immigrant and refugee owned businesses.



Map 7: Route of Cross Sectional Drive

Note: Stars are locations I stopped during drive for observation

7.3 Finding a new home for the GRC, Contracting the Refugee and Immigrant Enclave

During my volunteer time at the GRC from 2013 to 2014, the center moved locations in the process of finding a more permanent space for operations. This was due to the School District Six not renewing the lease agreement for the GRC to occupy the

first floor in Cameron Elementary School, which was closed as a school a few years ago. The GRC moved to the basement of Cameron per a month-by-month lease agreement with School District Six. In the meantime, the GRC was looking for a new place to call home. About one year later, The First United Methodist Church offered the GRC to use its classroom space in its church north wing starting March 2015. Fortunately, the lease agreement is for five years, renewable for another five years and provides the GRC with amply classroom and office space (Colette West and Emily Odiwuor, interview with author, October 8, 2015).

Marsh: How long were you guys shopping for [a new home for the GRC]?

West: Um, about a year and a half. Because we were upstairs [in Cameron] and then we were moved downstairs [in Cameron], to the garden level. We always know that July is the push out date when you have to find something else or you are going to get to stay... [W]e actually did come here and ask Pastor Leighton, who is also now on our board, if we could come look at the space up here... [W]e calculated it in our head and thought it would be nice, but they have a lot of stuff of up here and I don't know if there's enough room... So then later in that year... we were still at Cameron and we thought we could maybe stay until December. Then Pastor Leighton came to us and said that [our] mission and the mission of [the] church [are] very closely aligned and [they] would like to be more of a participant with [us] and [they] would like to offer [us] the space... [W]e kicked it back to the board and tossed it around and came

over here and toured and we decided yes. So the answer to your question was the Methodist church came to us and asked us to come over, and we said yes.

The change of location did affect the attendance levels of the ESL classes at the GRC for a time but the class size has bounced back and is growing. It is really interesting that the presence of the GRC now in a Christian religious establishment has not seemed to deter immigrants and refugees of other religions from coming to the GRC (Colette West and Emily Odiwuor, interview with author, October 8, 2015).

Marsh: So you guys [the GRC] are kind of guaranteed to be here. How do you think that affects the refugees taking classes here ...?

West: When we first talked about coming over here we were little concerned about the difference of location of going from a school to a church. Because we thought we would lose some clients because of the religious factors but they came over with us. I think that from the outside appearance it says education center out there [sign on entrance door] not First United Methodist Church so I think that helps a lot. But I think having a place that they know we will be located for at least five to ten years also helps. I think that has calmed some nerves.

Marsh: Have you guys noticed that more refugees and immigrants are now taking classes and continuously participating in class or showing up for class? Are you seeing any attendance differences?

Odiwuor: I think at first we saw a decrease because it was a change and it was in the middle of winter and no one wants to go out in the winter,

especially if you are from sub-Saharan climate! But we have seen a steady increase since then and we have about 170 enrolled in all of our classes now and it has been consistently full classes...If anything its grown, we are always going to see ebbs and flows as people move, and change jobs, and families change. But I think if we are here longer we will see more coming in.

The GRC's new location is now even more centrally located in the immigrant and refugee enclave, which is both beneficial and problematic. It is beneficial because the center has a larger more permanent space to operate the ESL classes, and it is more easily accessible for the immigrant and refugee clientele that utilize its services. It is also problematic because it pushed the enclave more east and further removes them from the visibility of the broader community. Steiz (interview with author, October 20, 2015) reflected on the GRC's central location in the enclave, the spatial division of Greeley and a loss of exchange between the refugee and immigrant enclave and the broader community.

Steiz: The GRC is great at providing the community and having a central location and providing English classes particular for the east African population. All of those things are good. It'd be great to see an exchange with the broader community. You know, Greeley is pretty divided east - west, north - south and it is such a bummer because I think everyone misses out when you don't celebrate diversity. Id love to see more exchanges there.

Also problematic from the change of the GRC's location from Cameron Elementary School to the First United Methodist Church is that it has potentially effected the involvement of Christ Community in the GRC. McConnell (interview with author, August 17, 2015), a Christ Community member, felt that the change of location created a loss in visibility and therefore a declining interest in the refugee and immigrant communities. Christ Community's main campus is across the street from Cameron Elementary School on 13th avenue. But the First United Methodist Church is located on 10th avenue, a few blocks east and north of the GRC's original location (see Map 7). The visibility of seeing the refugees and immigrants congregating in front of Cameron is gone and therefore no longer serves as a reminder to the congregation and its leaders of the need to serve and build social bridges with these people (Jane McConnell, interview with author, August 17, 2015).

McConnell: ...I think, I personally am really glad the GRC is in a bigger space and a better space, that is fabulous. It was sad for me when Cameron shut them out because of the relationship and the visibility having the GRC across the street was important for the involvement of our congregation.

Marsh: But [this is not affected by] that they [GRC] are in a different church?

McConnell: Exactly, and yeah, its not that they are just a different church, but just the visibility.

Marsh: Because its in a different part of the city?

McConnell: Yeah, people coming into our building aren't seeing the students going and in out of the GRC or the families as much. I think its harder for our congregation to be involved...

The local landscape has power that reaffirms and reinforces racial and ethnic identities and boundaries for later generations (Berry and Henderson 2002:7). This last detailed analysis of the refugees and immigrant places in Greeley's urban landscape led me to the realization of some indifference and denial by the dominant, mostly white, population of the minority, refugee and immigrant, population of Greeley because of the lack of daily visual interaction caused by the spatial disconnection (Hayden 1995a:22).

Notice that the new location of the GRC is within a two block walking distance of Zoe's Coffee Shop where the various ethnic congregations hold church services on Sunday. While this brings the refugee and immigrant enclave closer together which is beneficial in terms of convenience and maintaining social bonds and bridges within the refugee and immigrants, it is problematic as well. The absence of the GRC across the street from the main campus of Christ Community has resulted in the church feeling less pressure to include the refugees and immigrants in its services. McConnell (interview with author, August 17, 2015) expressed to me that while it is helpful, for various reasons already mentioned, that Christ Community provides the ethnic congregations with a place of worship, it also perpetuates the segregation of them from the local members who attend church at the main campus. McConnell felt that even the church leaders used Zoe's as a legitimate reason for not inviting or including the refugees and immigrants in the main campus church services. She said this mentality is unfortunate and sad because

it does a disservice to both the local community and immigrant and refugee community by perpetuating segregation even at church (Jane McConnell, interview with author, August 17, 2015).

This is not to say the Christ Community does not help the refugees and immigrants because in various ways, as previously discussed, it truly does. But as also discussed before, building relationships with people who are different requires much work, energy, and effort from the local community. It seems that while Christ Community is helping it is done in ways that more in line with what the church wants rather than what the refugees and immigrants potentially might need. Many people in Greeley and at the church do care very much about the well-being of the refugees and immigrants and have gone to great lengths to help by volunteering at the GRC, coordinating and aiding church services, and building relationships with them. However, the overall indifference of Greeley toward the refugees and immigrants is similar to the treatment and view of the historic Hispanic community as a “necessary nuisance” of temporary laborers working at JBS (Chase 2011) and is reflected in the segregated urban landscape of Greeley and congregations of its churches.

Greeley’s segregated and racist urban landscape history is still reflected in the city today. Even when the opportunity arises to embrace and include the new refugee population of Greeley, the landscape, the social practices and collective strategies reproduces and reinforces the historically segregated landscape and social connections. The Great Western Sugar Company’s racist ideologies and policies that produced the Hispanic ethnic enclave nearly a century ago, still impacts socially produced landscape of Greeley today. This is evident in the obvious segregation of Greeley as revealed by Map

2 and 3 but also in the racial and economic positioning of the refugee and immigrant enclave in the poorest part of Greeley (See Map 5) bordering the Hispanic ethnic enclave. The juxtaposition of the refugee community to the Hispanic ethnic enclave has also resulted in racial and economic tensions between these two groups, aside from the tensions of the dominant class of Greeley. And the positionality of the refugees and immigrants both racially and economically in this part of Greeley further isolates them from avenues of upwards mobility and allows for Greeley's dominant class to implicitly remain indifferent to the refugee population. However, the refugees' agency is evident in their ethnic economic impact on Greeley's urban landscape as evident by the GRC, the Najah African Restaurant, the East African Halal Market, the East African Restaurant, the Asian Border Market and the Golden Star Asian Market.

Chapter 8

Discussion, and Conclusion

Greeley's historic and current landscapes show how local dominant powers and ideologies use architectural technologies to create and maintain control of 'docile bodies' (Low 2000). This results in symbolic and structural violence that are normalized through Greeley's hegemonic discourses that are reproduced and perpetuated by all levels of society (Holmes 2010). From my findings, the normalization of symbolic and structural violence is manifested in concrete ways in Greeley's urban landscape and in different domains of refugee and immigrant integration, such as employment, housing, social bonds, social bridges (Ager and Strang 2008). In each of these domains of integration, the dynamics between landscapes and *habitus* work like Bourdieu's concept of *fields* as places where symbolic and structural violence are normalized (Bourdieu 1990; Holmes 2010; McGee 2012; Erickson and Murphy 2008). In this chapter, I discuss each of these domains of integration from my findings and how specific places, and individual agency allow these to thrive. I will discuss how other and similar places as situated in Greeley's landscape manifest the segregating *habitus* of Greeley and hinder these domains.

8.1 Employment and JBS

Greeley's historic urban landscape was socially produced (Low 2010) by three main forces. First, by economic and industry needs for low wage workers drove

undocumented Hispanic laborers to work the sugar beet fields and later for the meat packing plant (Chase 2011; Hayden 1995b:104). The second force was social, forcing the Hispanic laborers and their families to live in the Espanola Subdivision outside and away from the larger community, spatially and socially isolating and segregating them (Chase 2011; Low 2000:154). Third, the political forces of segregating ideologies and exclusionary social and cultural practices resulted in the exclusion of the Espanola Subdivision from Greeley's government and services (Chase 2011; Hayden 1995a:22).

The working landscape (Hayden 1995a) of Greeley recently changed because of political forces ending the meat packing industry's practice of hiring undocumented workers (Huffman and Miranowski 1996; Champlin and Hake 2006; Hanks 2012). The JBS meat packing plant was forced to seek low pay unskilled 'legal' laborers due to the changing immigrant regulations and enforcement practices making it impossible to employ undocumented Hispanic laborers that had previously been employed for decades (Hanks 2012). JBS began recruiting Somali and Burmese immigrants and refugees from primary resettlement sites, like Denver, to work at the plant (Heffel 2013; Murray 2013). Greeley's landscape is now being economically and socially modified by the changing political atmosphere of the meat packing industry and its need for 'legal' low skilled low wage laborers (Hanks 2012; Hayden 1995b). Due to social networks and intra-ethnic social bonds, more refugees and immigrants have continued to move to Greeley in search for jobs at JBS.

The first *field* that reproduces symbolic violence (Erickson and Murphy 2008; Holmes 2010) as it relates to an integration domain (Ager and Strang 2008) is that of employment related to JBS. It is reflective of employment opportunities available to and

chronic underemployment experiences of the refugees and immigrants. JBS provides employment for many of my refugee and immigrant key informants and is one of the only companies widely employing them (Murray 2013; Heffel 2013). This reality, however, positions the refugees and immigrants in socio-economic jobs that consist of low-skilled, low wage, hard manual labor (Lundborg 2013; Kibreab 2004). It normalizes the assumptions these are the only types of jobs they can perform and excuses the non-acknowledgment of their previous skill sets and work experiences (Ager and Strang 2008; Korac 2003; Krahn *et al* 2000; Lamba 2003; Lundborg 2013). It also, to some extent, normalizes the structural violence (Bourdieu 1990; Holmes 2010) perpetuated onto refugee and immigrant bodies by such physically demanding meat packing jobs (Culp *et al.* 2008). These are seen as jobs that ‘they’ can do, i.e. manual labor, low skilled, and do not require English language skills. Furthermore, such employment, compared to the countries of origin are decent paying jobs and have good health benefits, which, accordingly, are attractive to such individuals, at least at the beginning. But it becomes problematic when it paints all refugees and immigrants in this way. It is used to keep them in these types of hard manual labor jobs and closes off employment opportunities outside of JBS (Lundborg 2013; Kibreab 2004). I want to make clear I do not intend to critique JBS’s employment of the refugees and immigrants and I acknowledge Debretsion’s gratitude that JBS employs so many refugees and immigrants. But it needs to be understood that because the refugees and immigrants are mostly employed by JBS, the reality is used, regrettably, to justify their placement in these jobs. Again, this is not true across the city of Greeley, as some exceptions do exist such as working for bakeries, or in the Food Department or as translators for School District Six.

However, even with these few other employment opportunities outside of JBS, chronic underemployment is still a problem that some of my key informants face (Krahn et al 2000; Lamba 2003). It is important to understand how this *field* perpetuates the symbolic and structural violence within employment opportunities and chronic underemployment for the refugees and immigrants like Evelyn, Debretsion and Maung Maung (Erickson and Murphy 2008; Holmes 2010; Krahn et al 2000; Lamba 2003).

This is not to say that this *field* of JBS and its associated employment reality only perpetuates the symbolic and structural violence of Greeley's segregationist past. In certain ways, the *field* of JBS also forces the symbolic and structural violence to be questioned, as a result, has been forced to change itself, its *doxa*, and its own *habitus* (Bourdieu 1990; Holmes 2010; Erickson and Murphy 2008; McGee 2012). Colette West and Emily Odiwuor are well aware of the physical degradation of JBS jobs on their refugee and immigrant students. They and the GRC puts forth much effort to find ways to open employment opportunities for the refugees and immigrants so they may not endure the structural violence associated with working at JBS. Unfortunately, these other opportunities are still very limited.

Furthermore, this *field* is impacted by refugee and immigrant agency (Essed et al. 2004) in that it is a place where the working landscape and its associated norms are being contested (Hayden 1995a.b). This is seen in the protests for changes to the work schedules for the accommodation of Ramanda for Muslim employees (Rab 2008; Murray 2013). These protests made JBS respond by modifying productivity line hours and shifts to accommodate this need. Hence, JBS is adapting to the work forces' changing demographics. JBS has also provided a place where refugees and immigrants *can* find

work, social, and financial security. It also offers unique shift hours that allow the refugees and immigrants to attend ESL, GED, and citizenship courses at the GRC.

In this way even though JBS, as a *field*, is a place where symbolic violence is perpetuated it is also a place where it is contested. Through contestation, the refugees and immigrants are changing and impacting the *habitus* and *doxa* of JBS in beneficial ways.

The refugee and immigrant owned business (Ager and Strang 2008; Lundborg 2013) are noteworthy points where social construction of space (Low 2008) occurs and where their agency (Hayden 1995b; Essed et al. 2004)) and *habitus* is evident. By transforming the store fronts with cultural symbols and signs representative of their heritage, the face of the urban landscape is changing and contests its original production (Jackson 1997; Low 2000). These business are important for maintaining intra-ethnic community *habitus* and initiating inter-ethnic community relationships and social bridging. These small shops provide places where culturally - specific products, goods, and even ideologies are sold, traded and consumed (Li and Kaplan 2006; Lamba 2003). They also serve to create a place within the landscape where a common identity is actually located and can be practiced by being able to purchase spices, clothing, and other things necessary to maintain cultural identities, ideologies, and practices (Ager and Strang 2008; Hayden 1995; Henderson 2003; Low 2000; Lundborg 2013). While it maintains the intra-ethnic *habitus* it also serves to modify them in how they interact with the landscape, and their juxtaposition to certain stores, and neighborhoods.

8.2 Housing, Home, Safety and Language – Refugee and Immigrant Homes

Home is home because of how the space is inhabited, nurtured and impacted by culture. The creation of home via cultural practices (Tuan 1977; Wise 2000) makes for an important sense of belonging, comfort and safety (Ager and Strang 2008). My refugee and immigrant key informants generally feel at home in their houses and within Greeley. They express their *habitus* by instilling, maintaining, and practicing key components of their culture within their homes and in communal places. The purposeful acts of preparing cultural foods, speaking in ‘mother tongues’, and living with family or ethnic friends instills a sense of home, belonging, and safety for them in Greeley (Dam and Eyles 2012; Essed et al. 2004; Erickson and Murphy 2008; Tuan 1977).

What needs to be acknowledged and discussed here is that while, yes, Greeley is still racially and spatially segregated, it nevertheless provides the refugees and immigrants with a place to live and with a general sense of safety and protection. This encourages and enables the refugees and immigrants to have a sense of place and to establish homes and lives, i.e., plant their ‘roots’ in this city (Brun 2001; Dam and Eyles 2012; Dyck and Dossa 2007; Sampson and Gifford 2010). While the housing shortage in Greeley is a difficult problem for the refugees and immigrants to manage, and some of the housing available has bug infestation issues, Greeley still provides relatively affordable safe housing where the refugees and immigrants feel they can practice their original cultural activities and engage in their group identities (Dam and Eyles 2012) without harassment or fear of persecution (Ager and Strang 2008).

8.3 Social Bonds – Refugee and Immigrant Enclave

For my refugee and immigrant key informants, connections with members of the same ethnic, cultural and/or linguistic background is both beneficial towards and necessary for integration. These familial and intra-ethnic connections are used to simulate traditional social orders, family structures, and cultural practices that are familiar and comfortable (Williams 2006. Ager and Strang 2008). These social bonds are what help support the refugees and immigrants in adjusting to new ways of life in Greeley. They also aid in successful integration in finding housing, employment at JBS, and navigating through structural barriers and systems (Lamba and Krahn 2003; Ager and Strang 2008).

Through individual and group agency, my refugee and immigrant key informants worship in culturally unique ways at Zoe's Coffee Shop and at a local Mosque. They also participate in cultural festivities in Greeley and Denver building stronger intra-ethnic communities and social bonds. This is especially true for the Karen and Karenni living in Greeley, and for Sona, Margarito and Debrezion. However, for Evelyn, Sandra, and Abel this is less true. They struggle with a real sense of loneliness and isolation because they are without these close intra-ethnic, cultural and/or linguistic social bonds, hence hindering their overall integration. Furthermore, Sandra and Abel are even further hindered in their integration because of their need to reconnect with or secure the safety of their families living or seeking asylum abroad (Lamba and Krahn 2003).

The refugee and immigrant enclave is positioned by the historically segregated landscape of Greeley. Its position in the landscape, as a *field*, perpetuates symbolic violence. This enclave is affected by historically founded social and economic forces inserting it in between the Hispanic ethnic enclave to the east and the white affluent

enclave to the west causing spatial and social isolation and segregation (Chase 2011; Low 2000:154).

But it is also a *field* in which the refugee and immigrant group agency (Erickson and Murphy 2008; Essed et al. 2004) negates and contests the symbolic violence imposed on them by residing in Greeley. The enclave enables close proximity for the creation, maintenance, and instilling of social bonds. Living in similar neighborhoods and housing, visiting similar stores, working for JBS, taking ESL and GED classes at the GRC, and engaging in cultural activities at Zoe's or other public places provides avenues for constant social bond formation. In other words, these social bonds, as evident with my refugee and immigrant key informants, are essential for finding jobs, dealing with financial issues, providing food and child care, and building and maintaining cultural identities (Lamba and Krahn 2003). This social bond formation enables the refugees and immigrants as a group to contest, navigate, and break down social structural barriers imposed on them by the broader society of Greeley.

8.4 Social Bridges – The GRC, Steiz's neighborhood, and The Roots Project at the CVM

Authentic integration is more than the absence of conflict between the refugees and immigrants and the receiving community. Rather it is the building of real authentic relationships and connections, or social bridges, between refugees and immigrants and local members of the host community. It requires a two-way street of change for all new and original members of the city (Ager and Strang 2008; Essed et al. 2004; Lamba and Krahn 2003). Social bridges are crucial connections across ethnic, cultural and/or

linguistic lines that provide ways in which the refugees and immigrants can gain access to other economic, social and political opportunities available only through connections with local Greeley members or institutions (Ager and Strang 2008; Williams 2006). These connections occur in neighborhoods, public places, at school, at work, and at religious institutions (Lamba and Krahn 2003). For my informant Sona, he has social bridges and friendships established by attending a local mosque organized by Somalis, Iranians and Rohingya people. For Abel and Margarito, they have found friends of other ethnic groups mostly by interactions with them at work. As for Evelyn and Sandra, they consider their classmates at the GRC to be casual friends.

Inter-ethnic interactions and relationships are being built via meeting and learning together within the *field* of the GRC. This internal *field* of the GRC helps to mitigate symbolic violence imposed on its clientele. Here refugee and immigrant classmates make varying quality connections and relationships across ethnic lines with other students and local volunteers. The GRC and the resultant interactions help provide access to a larger social capital base by expanding relationships beyond intra-ethnic groups. Such a local social facility can also empower refugees and immigrants to achieve their potentials via the larger networks and by having access to English language education, GED classes, and having help with social service and job applications (Ager and Strang 2008; Lamba 2003; Lamba and Krahn 2003; Williams 2006.).

Friendliness from host community members helps to promote integration via a sense of safety, welcoming, and home. Unfriendliness undermines attempts at integrating (Ager and Strang 2008). The GRC is a main place where friendliness and even deeper relationships are made between local Greeley people and the refugees and immigrants.

However, general friendliness does not address issues of long term problems or need for real connection to and impact within the receiving community (Ager and Strang 2008; Lamba and Krahn 2003). The volunteers at the GRC are only a handful of people that provide more meaningful relationships with the refugees and immigrants and cannot provide enough social capital for all the students or members of the refugee and immigrant communities. Hence, for successful and meaningful integration more of Greeley's community members must build social bridges, meaning varying quality of relationships, networks, connections and ties with these 'newcomers' to offer more forms of social capital (Ager and Strang 2008; Lamba 2003; Lamba and Krahn 2003; Williams 2006).

The GRC is also a broader *field* where larger institutional barriers are contested (Ager and Strang 2008; Erickson and Murphy 2008). Because Greeley lacked city-sponsored or city-run programs for refugee integration it left a social service vacuum creating a space for 'empowering self-initiatives' among the refugees and immigrants (Korac 2003). This 'opportunity' allowed them to meet their needs in culturally accurate ways (Essed et al. 2004). The absence of city-sponsored programs may stem from Greeley's segregating *habitus*, that is, viewing the refugees and immigrants as a 'necessary nuisance' of cheap laborers that will eventually leave (Chase 2011). Top down integration programming differs in perception, implementation, and outcome, comparative to refugee and immigrant directed programming, which then can lead to unintended consequences or negative outcomes (Korac 2003). In a way, Greeley's lacking top down integration programming allowed for refugee and immigrant voices to be heard through the GRC. It is an institutional actor that works at building institutional

level social bridges with the City of Greeley, the hospital, police and fire departments and with School District Six as well as other major institutions and actors in Greeley. It is a liaison between the refugees and immigrants and broader Greeley and provides them with a gateway and access to resources otherwise inaccessible (Williams 2006; Lamba and Krahn 2003).

Greeley's historically created *habitus* that both economically and socially segregates is the driving force for why few social interactions between the refugees, immigrants and local individuals do not occur in daily life. This is contested if a local member or group makes the effort to cross over ethnic and spatial lines. To emphasize this point, recall that Bob Smith had reflected that his travels abroad and interactions with other cultures was a main contributor of why he cared for and was involved in the GRC community. I found this also to be true with the other volunteer teachers at the GRC, including myself. Furthermore, the UNC students involved at the GRC were specifically there due to their Applied Anthropology course. Hence, these people's *habitus* had been changed, or were changing, by such experiences and were lived out in their own willingness to volunteer, interact and build friendships with the refugees and immigrants at the GRC. If individual *habitus* is 'encoded', embodied, and/or shaped by the outside world, via social interactions (Erickson and Murphy 2008) then the individual segregating *habitus* of Greeley's members will reflect the historic *habitus* unless something causes social experiences that leads to change and inclusion. Only then will social transformation (Essed et al. 2004) occur at a deeper level leading to more successful integration.

The *habitus* of Courtney Steiz and her husband changed the most drastically by living and building genuine friendships and neighborly relationships with the Karenni and by leading the Christ Community International Church. Steiz's situation with the Karenni is also interesting as she interacts with the intra-ethnic group transcending into an inter-ethnic community. Steiz is an important point of access for the Karenni into Greeley's community, culture, and social and governmental institutions. She also contests the larger *habitus* of Greeley by living in an area where people similar to her do not live, and she builds intimate friendships with people that many locals ignore. The neighborhood in which she and her husband lives is a place that contests the symbolic violence of Greeley on the refugees and immigrants.

The Roots Project is a unique example of changing *habitus* of Greeley's museums and community because it purposefully seeks out the refugees and immigrants to teach them about Greeley's immigrant past and to encourage them to settle down and establish their 'roots' in Greeley. The Centennial Village Museum (CVM) shares Greeley's cultural and historical tools, building technologies, food growing and preparation methods and techniques. It is within the fences of the CVM, working as a *field*, where the refugees and immigrants are encouraged to share their cultures and experiences thus contesting Greeley's general indifference to the 'newcomers'. The refugees and immigrants come equipped with cultural knowledge, tool kits, and expertise that are not usually celebrated by the receiving community, but in the case of the Roots Project they are. These connections of history, economy, and cultural knowledge helps with place building (Tuan 1977) and social bridging contributing to integration (Ager and Strang 2008). The Roots

Project also provides a platform to discuss differences and similarities in perspective, opinion and assumptions regarding society, culture, and ways of life.

What these growing friendships, communities and connections reveal is that authentic integration is possible beyond ‘social harmony’ (Ager and Strang 2008) and that social transformation, even if on a small scale, is possible and flourishes (Essed et al. 2004). Real relationships, connections and networks among diverse groups is occurring and enables the refugees and immigrants to have better access to resources, institutions, and services and moves them toward feeling and being treated like equal members of society (Ager and Strang 2008; Lamba and Krahn 2003; Williams 2006).

I wish to highlight here is that these extra efforts made by local members and institutions actually emphasizes the severity of Greeley’s socially and spatially segregated city. If the segregation was not so acute, then the efforts needed to build social bridges would not need to be so profound or unique. If Greeley’s community and landscape was less entrenched with segregationist tendencies and ideologies such efforts would not be required because social bridges would already occur more naturally via daily interactions. But as Evelyn and Abel’s isolating situations at church and apartment complexes show they are still ignored. Hence, even if the spatial component of segregation is removed, the social segregation still persists via the inhibiting social behaviors, or *praxis*, of Greeley’s members. Because the refugees and immigrants are largely ignored, it reinforces their social place in Greeley as lower, less desirable, and not worthy of belonging to the greater community. It is clear to me that both the confusion and sadness reflected on their faces as they describe their situations to me, reveals they are embodying this *doxa*. Abel internalized people’s reactions and inactions to him. He

blamed his English skills as too inadequate for people at church to speak with him. And he was made acutely aware of his ‘otherness.’ He now sees himself as a ‘black someone’ which was caused by people’s fearful reactions to him. These behaviors also reinforce the symbolic violence perpetrated on the refugees and immigrants as it becomes internalized by the minority powerless classes (Holmes 2010). In other word, Greeley’s segregating *habitus* and doxa, though dynamic and contested by the GRC, the Steizes and the Roots Project, reproduces and reinforces the enclave boundaries.

8.5 Urban landscape of Greeley –Greeley’s *Habitus* constructing the Landscape, Zoe’s Coffee Shop and the GRC’s New Location

Greeley’s *habitus* economically and socially produced the urban landscape (Low 2008; Jackson 1997) Even so, the landscape does not go uncontested. The refugee and immigrant enclave is situated within and between the segregated landscape which in turn effects the opportunities, or lack there of, social interactions and bridging between the refugees and immigrants and the broader Greeley community (Dam and Eyles 2012). Twenty-third Avenue, running north and south, is the main dividing line between the ‘East’ and the ‘West’. Because few local Greeley people who live on the ‘West’ side of 23rd Avenue seem to cross this line, few even know about the presence of the refugees and immigrants and this inhibits social bridging.

Landscapes are material manifestations revealing insights into human practice and thought (Henderson 2003; Hayden 1995; Jackson 1997). In certain ways the change of location for the GRC, as a larger *field* that is situated in Greeley’s landscape, is revealing and reproducing some of the segregating tendencies of the landscape. Similarly, the

location of Zoe's Coffee Shop and its positioning of the refugee and immigrant congregations away from the main congregation of Christ Community reproduces the symbolic violence and socio-spatial segregating relationship.

Inside the GRC is a *field* that encourages social bridges between individuals. But its position within the landscape due to its changed location is another spatial *field* normalizing symbolic violence and reproducing Greeley's segregating ideologies (Hayden 1995). The loss of visual encounters between the GRC and Christ Community Church, due to GRC's move out of Cameron Elementary School, allows the Christ Community congregation and leaders to slowly forget about helping this new community of people. With the GRC's new home being in the First United Methodist Church located further east and 'deeper' into the refugee and immigrant enclave, the resultant position further exacerbates the lost visibility and connection. Now social bridging (Ager and Strang 2008) between these two groups is even more likely hindered due to the change of location but it is contested via the efforts of the volunteers and the GRC to inform and educate the community. Also contesting the symbolic violence of Greeley is the generosity from the First United Methodist Church welcoming the GRC to use the church's space.

Similarly, Zoe's Coffee Shop position in the landscape is also a larger *field* where symbolic violence and the socio-spatial relationship between it and Christ Community is normalized (Hayden 1995; Henderson 2003; Holmes 2010). The use of Zoe's space, though altruistic, good intentioned, and even needed for creating culturally comfortable places of worship for the congregations, unfortunately normalizes and even justifies, the segregating of the refugees and immigrants from the rest of Christ Community's

congregation. While Christ Community is itself on the east side of 23rd Avenue, the geographic position of Zoe's further east situates the congregations apart perpetuating the spatial causation of non-interactions between local members and the refugees and immigrants.

In spite of the significant issues surrounding the adverse social production of space (Low 2008) the refugee and immigrant individuals, nonetheless, are still acting with agency (Essed et al. 2003) and culture (Dam and Eyles 2012; Tuan 1977; Wise 2000). This individual and collective effort serves to construct the space, or landscape, in unique symbolic, phenomenological and social ways (Henderson 2003; Low 2008). Agency is the individual's intentioned use of creative acts and culture to socially transform norms and structures (Erickson and Murphy 2008; Hayden 1995a). Hence, the presence of the refugees and immigrants in the landscape changes the social form and meaning of it. It is now being territorialized (Hayden 1995a.; 1995b) by the refugees and immigrants into their own space within the landscape of Greeley. Even the larger *fields* of the GRC and Zoe's which do normalize symbolic violence, as discussed above, are still being territorialized (Hayden 1995a; 1995b) by the refugees and immigrants through their use of the space in their own culturally unique ways.

Lefebvre's theory of the production of space states that urban landscapes are produced to meet social, political, and economic needs of its members (Hayden 1995a:18-20). His concept is theoretically applicable for contesting the notion of refugees and immigrants as passive beneficiaries (Brun 2001; Essed et al. 2004) or even as 'docile bodies' in the architectural landscape (Low 2000). If the landscape is produced to meet these needs of members, then the needs and agency of the refugees and immigrants is

forcing the urban landscape of Greeley to change in subtle ways. It is important to highlight that refugees and immigrants are not without place or passive victims torn from their homes unable to create home anywhere else (Brun 2001; Sampson and Gifford 2010). Walking around the city, using its public places, living in certain areas and operating the GRC, religious services and small businesses all provide avenues of territorializing a piece of the city creating the refugee and immigrant enclave (Hayden 1995a).

The practical knowledge of place as situated, produced, and constructed by politics, economics, technologies, ideology and social relations is not only produced by hegemonic dominating forces (Low 2000; Relph 1976) but, I argue, also by the subordinate in ways of maintaining and practicing their *habitus* in the GRC, their homes, congregations, and small businesses (Low 2000). This practical knowledge of place (Low 2000; Relph 1976), and its associated social segregating consequences are contested and modified by the refugees and immigrants in the landscape through the use of it in various forms. They also contest and modify the social, ideological, economic, and cultural knowledge of place by practicing their cultures, speaking their native languages, learning English, earning GEDs and becoming citizens (Ager and Strang 2008; Dam and Eyles 2012; Hayden 1995a; Low 2000). These efforts work toward breaking down social, professional, and cultural barriers to improve their prospects for social and economic mobility (Ager and Strang 2008).

8.6 Conclusion

The integration experiences for the refugees, immigrants, and local Greeley members are multifaceted and complex affected by and effecting the city's historically segregating *habitus* and landscape. These structures, both social and physical, do hinder economic opportunities, social connections and access to key resources for the refugees and immigrants. Even so, it is still contested by many local, refugee and immigrant people forcing it to change, all though slowly, while carving out a place for the newcomers in the city.

My research highlights the need for the refugees and immigrants to feel physically safe, culturally welcomed, economically secure, and be accepted as contributing members of Greeley's society. In certain ways the refugees and immigrants are being provided some of these attributes. JBS employs many in decent paying jobs that allow them to provide housing and food for their families. Their homes, Zoe's Coffee Shop, and the GRC encourage them to speak in their native tongues, practice their own cultures, and build social bonds. The Roots Project invites them to learn about Greeley, share their own histories and cultures, and encourages them to stay. Courtney Steiz and her husband provide community and important social access to various social, health and cultural institutions. The Steizes, the Roots Project and the GRC all promote efforts to build social bridges between local Greeley members and the refugees and immigrants. The GRC is the main voice and advocate for the newcomers and provides ESL, GED and citizenship classes as well as help them with applying for jobs and government assistance.

JBS provides many refugees and immigrants living in Greeley with much needed jobs. Unfortunately, these jobs are physically degrading and therefore, the refugees and immigrants need to be provided avenues to find other types and places of employment. The City of Greeley, in partnership with the GRC and potential employers in Greeley need to provide education and job training services for the refugees and immigrants. Then the refugees and immigrants who need job training would be then able to expand their job prospects and would be less likely to face chronic underemployment. Furthermore, I argue that the City of Greeley needs to encourage employers to hire the refugees and immigrants through incentive programs and aiding these employers with job training costs. Lastly, the City of Greeley needs to promote and help open more refugee and immigrant run businesses to aid in self-employment opportunities and promote inter-cultural sharing.

If the refugees and immigrants, through education and job training, are able to obtain better jobs then perhaps they will be able to afford to buy homes outside of the refugee and immigrant enclave thus permeating 23rd Avenue and the white and Hispanic ethnic enclave boundaries to the west and to the east. If the spatial boundaries are compromised, then perhaps, over time, the segregating *habitus* of Greeley members may change into being more inclusionary, welcoming and neighborly. The city itself could try city planning to promote the blending of people and break down the enclaves.

To promote social bridging through educating the broader Greeley community, the City of Greeley, in partnership with the GRC, the Roots Project and the refugee and immigrant business, could host and sponsor a festival celebrating diversity of cultures represented by the refugees and immigrants living in Greeley. Greeley could also provide

more funding to the CVM so that it can implement the cultural displays and refugee and immigrant programs into the museum. These displays and programs could coincide with the cultural festival in some way, either by the festival taking place at the CVM or at a near by park. Greeley is famous for its Fourth of July Stampede Rodeo that celebrates Independence Day for an entire week with concerts, food, bull riding, and a carnival. It also holds an Oktober fest ever year celebrating the German Russians who immigrated to Greeley over one hundred years ago. The city is no stranger to cultural festivals and should hold one honoring the refugees and immigrants to welcome them to the city.

If the individual *habitus* of Greeley's members are going to change, as expressed by Bob Smith, then the city leaders need to work together to educate and encouraged its community to build bridges with the 'newcomers.' As Steiz said, it is not up to 'us', Greeley, to decide what they need, or what services should be provided to them, but rather it is up to them to decide. Greeley needs to listen and respond. It is in this way, by inviting them into interaction, conversation, especially on a normal neighborly daily basis, that the community can help them in ways that is relevant to them, without being patronizing. The community then, if willing, can receive back from them what they offer. This is how real social transformation occurs, and true integration happens at all levels of society. Integration is not just about the refugees and immigrants. If anything it is more about the receiving society adapting and changing to meet the needs of its new members.

References

- Ager, Alastair, and Alison Strang
2008 "Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21, no. 2 (June 1, 2008): 166–91. doi:10.1093/jrs/fen016.
- Appadurai, Arjun
1988 Introduction: Place and Voice in Anthropological Theory. *Cultural Anthropology* 3, no. 1: 16–20. doi:10.1525/can.1988.3.1.02a00020.
- Arreola, Daniel D.
1995 Urban Ethnic Landscape Identity. *Geographical Review* 85 (4):518-534.
- "Asian Border Market."
Asian Border Market - Ethnic Food - Greeley, CO - Reviews - Yelp. Accessed June 2, 2015. <http://www.yelp.com/biz/asian-border-market-greeley>.
- Benson, Janet, E.
1999 "Undocumented Immigrants and the Meatpacking Industry in the Midwest." In *Illegal Immigration in America*, 172–92. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Beaman, Lori A.
2012 Social Networks and the Dynamics of Labour Market Outcomes: Evidence from Refugees Resettled in the U.S. *The Review of Economic Studies* 79, no. 1 (January 1, 2012): 128–61. doi:10.1093/restud/rdr017.
- Bernard, Russell, and Gery Ryan
2010 *Analyzing Qualitative Data: Systematic Approaches*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC: SAGE.
- Berry, Kate A., and Martha L. Henderson
2002 Introduction: Envisioning the Nexus between Geography and Ethnic and Racial Identity. In *Geographical Identities of Ethnic American: Race, Space, and Place*, edited by Kate A. Berry and Martha L. Henderson, 1–14. Reno & Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre
1990 *The Logic of Practice*. Translated by Richard Nice. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

- Brun, Catherine
2001 Reterritorializing the Relationship between People and Place in Refugee Studies. *Wiley, Geografiska Annaler, Human Geography*, 83: 15–25.
- “Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration.”
U.S. Department of State, n.d. <http://www.state.gov/j/prm/>.
- Castles, Stephen, Maja Korac, Ellie Vasta, and Steven Vertovec
2002 ‘Integration: Mapping The Field’ Report of a Project Carried out by the University of Oxford Centre. University of Oxford, December 2002.
- Champlin, Dell, and Eric Hake
2006 Immigration as Industrial Strategy in American Meatpacking. *Review of Political Economy* 18, no. 1 (January 1, 2006): 49–70.
doi:10.1080/09538250500354140.
- Chase, Gregory T.
2011 Hispanic Migration to Northeastern Colorado during the Nineteen Twenties: Influences of Sugar Beet Agriculture. M.A., University of Denver.
<http://0-search.proquest.com/bianca.penlib.du.edu/docview/918822957/abstract/F83ABA78F88846A4PQ/1?accountid=14608>.
- Clay, Grady
2003 Crossing the American Grain with Vesalius, Geddes and Jackson: The Cross Section as a Learning Tool. In *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies After J. B. Jackson*, edited by Chris Wilson and Paul Groth, 109–29. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Cook, Georgiena A.
1978 Fact and Fiction: German Russian Sugar Beet Farmers in Colorado. In *Germans From Russia in Colorado*, edited by S. Heitman. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The Western Social Science Association.
- Cornelius, Coleman
2001 Beef Baron Monfort Dies at 71. *DenverPost.com*, February 3.
<http://extras.denverpost.com/business/biz0203b.htm>.
- Culp, Kenneth, Mary Brooks, Kerri Rupe, and Craig Zwerling
2008 Traumatic Injury Rates in Meatpacking Plant Workers. *Journal of Agromedicine* 13, no. 1 (June 27, 2008): 7–16. doi:10.1080/10599240801985373.
- Dam, Huyen, and John Eyles
2012 ‘Home Tonight? What? Where?’ An Exploratory Study of the Meanings of House, Home and Family Among the Former Vietnamese Refugees in a Canadian City. *Forum : Qualitative Social Research* 13, no. 2: n/a.

- Duke, Karen L., Rosemary A. Sales, and Jeanne Gregory
 1999 Refugee Resettlement in Europe. In *Refugees, Social Policy and Citizenship in Europe*, edited by Alice Bloch and Carl Levy, 105–31. Palgrave School, 1999.
<http://www.palgrave.com/page/detail/refugees,-citizenship-and-social-policy-in-europe-alice-bloch/?isbn=9780333719107>.
- Dyck, Isabel, and Parin Dossa
 2007 Place, Health and Home: Gender and Migration in the Constitution of Healthy Space.” *Health & Place* 13, no. 3 (September): 691–701.
 doi:10.1016/j.healthplace.2006.10.004.
- “East African Store.”
Manta. Accessed June 2, 2015. <http://www.manta.com/c/mtm3nv6/east-african-store>.
- Erickson, Paul A., and Liam D. Murphy
 2008 *A History of Anthropological Theory*. Third. New York: Broadview Press.
- Essed, Philomena, Georg Frerks, and Schrijvers, Joke
 2004 Introduction: Refugees, Agency, and Social Transformation. In *Refugees and The Transformation of Societies: Agency, Policies, Ethics and Politics*, Vol. 13. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2004.
- Finley, Bruce
 2009 Somali Refugees Take up New Roots in Greeley. *The Denver Post*, June 29.
http://www.denverpost.com/headlines/ci_12710442.
- “Golden Star Asian Grocery.”
Golden Star Asian Grocery. Accessed June 2, 2015.
<https://www.google.com/maps/place/Golden+Star+Asian+Grocery/@40.393558,-104.718175,17z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m2!3m1!1s0x0:0xb823d5fc5b53ee02>.
- “GRC: Global Refugee Center, Inc.,” 2015 2008. <http://grccolorado.org>.
- “Greeley, Colorado.”
City-Data.com, n.d. <http://www.city-data.com/city/Greeley-Colorado.html>.
- Gustafson, Per
 2001 Meanings of Place: Everyday Experience and Theoretical Conceptualizations. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 21, no. 1 (March): 5–16. doi:10.1006/jevp.2000.0185.

- Hall, M., and B. Lee
2010 How Diverse Are US Suburbs? *Urban Studies* 47 (1):3-28.
- Hamilton, Candy
2009 *Footprints in the Sugar: A History of the Great Western Sugar Company*. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd.
- Hanks, Kevin
2012 By-Products: Immigration, Raids, and Meatpacking in Rural Communities. M.S., Utah State University, 2012. <http://0-search.proquest.com.bianca.penlib.du.edu/docview/1009207173/abstract/F486B75B964A467FPQ/1>.
- Hayden, Dolores
1995a Urban Landscape History: The Sense of Place and the Politics of Space. In *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, 14–43. Cambridge, Massachusetts. London, England: The MIT Press.

1995b Workers' Landscapes and Livelihoods. In *The Power of Place*, 98–137.
- Heffel, Nathan
2013 The Global Refugee Center: A Community Within A Community. Web Page. Written Report. *Community*. KUNC. NPR, March 7. <http://www.kunc.org/post/global-refugee-center-community-within-community>.
- Henderson, George L.
2003 What (Else) We Talk About When We Talk About Landscapes: For a Return to the Social Imagination. In *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J.B. Jackson*, edited by Chris Wilson and Paul Groth, 178–98. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- “History.”
2013 *Greeley, Colorado*, July 21. <http://www.greeleyhistory.org/pages/history.html>.
- Holmes, Seth
2013 *Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies: Migrant Farmworkers in the United States*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2013.
- Huffman, Wallace E., and John A. Miranowski
1996 Immigration, Meat Packing, and Trade: Implications for Iowa. Economic Staff Paper Series. Iowa State University, December. http://lib.dr.iastate.edu/econ_las_stapapers/281.

- Kaplan, David H., and Wei Li
 2006 Introduction: The Places of Ethnic Economies. In *Landscapes of the Ethnic Economy*, edited by David H. Kaplan and Wei Li, 1–14. United Kingdom: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Kibreab, Gaim
 2004 Refugeehood, Loss and Social Change: Eritrean Refugees and Returnees. In *Refugees and The Transformation of Societies: Agency, Policies, Ethics and Politics*, 13:19–30. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Korac, Maja
 2003 Integration and How We Facilitate It: A Comparative Study of the Settlement Experiences of Refugees in Italy and the Netherlands. *Sage Publications, Ltd., Sociology*, 37 (February 2003): 51–68.
- Krahn, Harvey, Tracey Derwing, Marlene Mulder, and Lori Wilkinson
 2000 Educated and Underemployed: Refugee Integration into the Canadian Labour Market. *Journal of International Migration and Integration / Revue de L'integration et de La Migration Internationale* 1, no. 1 (March): 59–84.
 doi:10.1007/s12134-000-1008-2.
- Jackson, John Brinckerhoff
 1997 By Way of Conclusion: How to Study the Landscape. In *Landscape in Sight: Looking at America*, edited by Horowitz, 307–18. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Lamba, Navjot K., and Harvey Krahn
 2003 Social Capital and Refugee Resettlement: The Social Networks of Refugees in Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 4, no. 3: 335–60.
- Lamba, Navjot K.
 2003 The Employment Experiences of Canadian Refugees: Measuring the Impact of Human and Social Capital on Quality of Employment. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue Canadienne de Sociologie* 40, no. 1 (February 1): 45–64.
 doi:10.1111/j.1755-618X.2003.tb00235.x.
- Lewellen, Ted C.
 2002 *The Anthropology of Globalization: Cultural Anthropology Enters the 21st Century*. First. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Li, W.
 2009 *Ethnoburb: The New Ethnic Community in Urban America*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

- Lofholm, Nancy
 2013 Fear from Swift Plant Raid Resonates in Greeley Six Years Later. *The Denver Post*, January 1, 2013. http://www.denverpost.com/ci_22374170/fear-from-swift-plant-raid-resonates-greeley-six.
- Long, N.
 2001 *Development Sociology, Actor Perspectives*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Lopez, Jody, Gabriel Lopez, and Peggy A. Ford
 2007 *White Gold Laborers: The Story of Greeley's Spanish Colony*. Bloomington, IN: Author House.
- Lundborg, Per
 2013 'Refugees' Employment Integration in Sweden: Cultural Distance and Labor Market Performance." *Review of International Economics* 21, no. 2 (May 1): 219–32. doi:10.1111/roie.12032.
- Low, Setha
 2000 *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture*. Austin: University of Texas.
- "Map of Greeley."
 2015 *Google Maps*, May 5. <https://www.google.com/maps/@40.4172463,-104.6909727,12z>.
- Massey, Douglas S., and Nancy A. Denton
 1985 Spatial assimilation as socioeconomic outcome. *American Sociological Review* 50 (1).
- Massey, Douglas S., Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor
 1993 Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal. *Population Council* 19 (3):433-466.
- McGee, R. Jon, and Richard L. Warms, eds.
 2012 Structures, Habitus, Practices. In *Anthropological Theory: An Introductory History*, 5th ed., 492–508. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Moore, Jeanne
 2000 Placing Home In Context. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 20, no. 3 (September): 207–17. doi:10.1006/jevp.2000.0178.

- Murray, Sara
 2013 On the Killing Floor, Clues to the Impact Of Immigration on Jobs. *Wall Street Journal*, August 22. sec. US.
<http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887324251504578580041922193264>.
- Peck, Gunther
 1996 Reinventing Free Labor: Immigrant Padrones and Contract Laborers in North America, 1885-1925. *The Journal of American History* 83 (3):848-871.

 2000. *Reinventing Free Labor: Padrones and Immigrant Workers in the North American West, 1880 - 1930*. Austin: University of Texas at Austin.
- Olszewski, Carissa
 2010 Ethnic Somali Restaurant Caters to Students, Locals. *Uncmirror*, October 22. <http://www.uncmirror.com/news/view.php/105712/Ethnic-Somali-restaurant-caters-to-stude>.
- Rab, Lisa
 2008 There's No Place like Home for Somali Refugees in Greeley. *Westword*, November 27. <http://www.westword.com/news/theres-no-place-like-home-for-somali-refugees-in-greeley-5101767>.
- Relph, E.
 1976 Place and the Phenomenological Basis of Geography. *Place and Placelessness*, 1-7. London: Pion Limited.
- “Refugees: Flowing Across Borders.” *UNHCR: The UN Refugee Agency*, 2016.
- Russell, Bernard H.
 2011 *Research Methods in Anthropology*. 5th ed. AltaMira Press.
- Sampson, Robyn, and Sandra M. Gifford
 2010 Place-Making, Settlement and Well-Being: The Therapeutic Landscapes of Recently Arrived Youth with Refugee Backgrounds. *Health & Place* 16, no. 1 (January): 116–31. doi:10.1016/j.healthplace.2009.09.004.
- Schein, Richard H.
 2003 Normative Dimensions of Landscape. In *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J. B. Jackson*, edited by Chris Wilson and Paul Groth, 199–218. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003.
- Shwayder, Carol Rein
 1987 The Sugar Beet Story: The Sugar Beet Industry of Weld County, Colorado 1901 - 1987.

- Simich, Laura
2008 Refugee Mental Health and the Meaning of 'Home,'.
http://www.metropolis.net/pdfs/fow_CITC_fall2010_e.pdf.
- Skop, Emily
2006 Introduction - Urban space: the shape of Inequality. *Urban Geography* 27 (5):393-396.

2009 Austin: A City Divided. In *The African Diaspora in the U.S. and Canada at the Dawn of the 21st Century* edited by J. Frazier, J. T. Darden and N. F. Henry. Binghamton University: Global Academic Publishing.
- Skop, Emily, and Wei Li
2003 From the Ghetto to the Invisiburb: Shifting Patterns of Immigrant Settlement in Contemporary America. In *Multicultural Geographies: Persistence and Change in U. S. Racial/Ethnic Patterns*, edited by J. W. Frazier, and Florence Margai. New York: Academic Publishing.
- Sperry, Trenton
2015 Ethnic Eats: Two Greeley Restaurants Boast Authentic Ethnic Food, Rich Backstories | GreeleyTribune.com. *The Greeley Tribune*, February 1.
<http://www.greeleytribune.com/news/14800033-113/ethnic-eats-two-greeley-restaurants-boast-authentic-ethnic-food-rich>.
- Tuan, Yi-Fu
1977 *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Seventh. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Twigger-Ross, Clare L., and David L. Uzzell
1996 Place and Identity Processes. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 16, no. 3 (September 1996): 205–20. doi:10.1006/jevp.1996.0017.
- Warner, Faith R.
2007 Social Support and Distress among Q'eqchi' Refugee Women in Maya Tecun, Mexico." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 21, no. 2: 193–217.
doi:10.1525/maq.2007.21.2.193.
- Weiner, James
2002 Between a Rock and a Non-Place: towards a Contemporary Anthropology of Place. *Reviews in Anthropology* 31, no. 1: 21–27.
- Whaley, Monte
2010 Burmese Refugees' Search for Peace Ends in Greeley. *The Denver Post*, July 20, . http://www.denverpost.com/news/ci_15554665.

Williams, Lucy

2006 Social Networks of Refugees in the United Kingdom: Tradition, Tactics and New Community Spaces. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32, no. 5: 865–79.

Wilson, Tamar Diana

1994 What determines Where Transnational Labor Migrants Go? Modifications in Migration Theories. *Human Organization* 53 (3): 269-278

Wise, J. Macgregor

2000 Home: Territory and Identity. *Cultural Studies* 14, no. 2 (April 1): 295–310.
doi:10.1080/095023800334896.